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Social Goals in Peacetime	. 255
A Philosophy for Sociologists PAUL A. F. WALTER, JR.	. 262
Postwar Challenges to Sociology LEE M. BROOKS	. 268
Town and Country in Revolution PAUL MEADOWS	. 273
Achievement Factors in Utah	279
Nursery Literature and Child Developmen ROBERT M. DINKEL	t 285
Primary Group Relationships	. 291
Price Control and Social Control	. 297
Social Theory 306 Social Welfare . Races and Culture 315 Social Piction	320

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

March-April

SOCIAL GOALS IN PEACETIME

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• War tends toward unity of action and thought on the part of great numbers of the population. The goal of winning the war, of victory, is bright, attractive, compelling. Men and women are keyed up emotionally. On the contrary, in the more prosaic peacetime, a democratic state does not as a rule display unity of purpose. It is difficult to "wage peace"; and peace without "purposefulness" may "become unendurable." A muchdesired goal is essential to moments of inspiration and supreme effort.

War is an institution about as old as the race itself. If ended, a "moral equivalent" must be found in industry as well as in other peacetime relations. In the chronic state of emergency called the postwar world, American men and women need some clear picture of a new world in which "liberty plus groceries" and equality of opportunity may be obtained for all. Since a democracy which is representative must allow conflicting groups and interests opportunity to present and press for their special interests, unity of action can be obtained only by looking toward fundamental interests or drives which are common to the great majority of citizens. Certain limited goals appeal to particular groups in the community and not to other interests. This situation is typical in a democratic country of great contrasts. The goal which appeals to a large and enthusiastic following is closely related to basic emotional drives. In order to attain and maintain unity of action these basic demands or wants must be dramatized. Goals which attract the allegiance of the mass of people will of course be flouted by the "lunatic fringes" to the right or to the left.

In what sort of world do we wish to live today and tomorrow? What is the good American life in this changing, but complex, technological civilization? In recent decades the United States has developed rapidly into a nation having the greatest per capita production in the world. As a consequence, emphasis has been placed upon gadgets—bathtubs, automobiles, jewelry, cosmetics—as a prerequisite for the good life. These things rather than art, courtesy, ability to get along with others, and social responsibility were the marks of American life in the era of geographic expansion which has practically ended. The workers of the

nation have been given a vision of a life favored by a wide range of goods and services and also by an increase in leisure time. This trend began with free public schools for all and manhood suffrage, and was followed in recent years by a variety of means for giving the mass of our population greater opportunity to learn about how other groups live and the comforts and freedoms they enjoy. Desires have multiplied even faster than the opportunities to satisfy these newly born desires. Unrest is the normal consequence of such a state of affairs. Men and women whose ancestral background is scarcity, want, hardship, and limited social horizons are suddenly thrust as a consequence of unprecedented scientific and technological advance into a situation in which new wants are rapidly generated, but the possibilities of satisfying those wants are limited by the slowly changing economic and political institutions crystallized in the pretechnological age.

In the present epoch, distinguished because of public schools, universal suffrage, unionization of labor, and mass production, goals which will lead to unity of action appeal especially to the masses and to the middle class. For example, in the United States the desire for higher standards of living, security, and equality of opportunity on the part of the rank and file is becoming intense. These are positive objectives. Specifically, some of the attractive goals in a technological world are: negative, (a) freedom from want and (b) freedom from fear; positive, (a) the right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and education, (b) the right to social security (security is a much-desired goal in a serious depression or in war; but security is for the old and the established, since it may delay the young man from getting a foothold and may add to the unrest of youth), and (c) the right to a remunerative job. These rights in addition to those embodied in the Bill of Rights-freedom of speech, press, and worship -are the chief rights to be placed in an attractive goal for the men of today.

However, in times of peace some high moral or religious purpose should also be clearly connected with a social goal. The highest efficiency and the most earnest endeavor in industry or elsewhere are obtained when positive incentives such as pecuniary gain and personal or group prestige are supplemented by the intangible urge of patriotism, of religious fervor, or of other emotional drives such as the desire to help in performing a worth-while service with personally disinterested motives. Enthusiastic performance results from emotional reactions rather than from logical reasoning. People need a goal beyond groceries, gadgets, and leisure. Men and women crave something which appeals to their emotions, to a better life for all, to the brotherhood of man, to harmony with the Archi-

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tect of the Universe. War, in spite of its cruelties and crudities, has in the past made appeals which have stirred human nature to its depths. In an atomic age, however, unless war can be displaced, humans are in great danger of being destroyed.

Totalitarian countries present a definite goal for men and women. Everything is geared toward the benefit of the party, the state, or the race. The individual does not count except as one of the mass. Emphasis is placed upon a social goal, and a missionary spirit is instilled. Individual conscience is disregarded in totalitarian organizations. Since totalitarian governments either of the left or of the right propose to dominate the individual, morality as free peoples understand it is considered inimical to the state. The actions of the individual are right provided such actions are in the interest of the state or the party. This makes for solidarity, for unity, and for ruthlessness of action.

In democratic countries the dignity of the individual and his welfare are stressed, but unity of action in peacetime is much more difficult to obtain than in totalitarian states. Moreover, technological development is tending to minimize the importance of the individual. He is only one of many cooperatively engaged in producing commodities. However, the growth of "tertiary" occupations in which mass production methods are not easy to apply may check this tendency. It is difficult to develop the missionary spirit in regard to the American way of life-in regard to democracy and relatively free enterprise. In the early history of the human race religion, home life, tribal conflicts, and much of industry provided outlets for emotional drives. Today the emotional life of men and women in industry is starved. In recent generations industry has become acclimated to regularity, precision, accuracy. In all walks of life we are slaves to the clock. Drama, climax, and other emotional vents are not common in everyday life. Writes Professor Ross, "year by year human relations become more tangled," and the rate of change is breathtakingly rapid. Moral and social standards were undergoing strain before the devastating atom bomb burst upon unprepared nations and peoples.

For many a worker the daily hours of monotonous and repetitive work are a grind with no apparent reason in physical or mental well-being. The day's work is a task to be done and to be put behind him. The worker too often feels that he lives only in the nonworking portion of the day, or at least in the portion not devoted to his allotted tasks. Many work hard, after the regular working day is ended, for themselves or for members of the family. Many work hard and joyously at relief work, in sewing circles, at church work, without thought of pecuniary gain. Can-

not some of the effort used to alleviate evils, be channeled in a positive way to bring joy and uplift to the people of the community? Cannot this energy be used to prevent the drop into a situation where relief and charity seem essential?

The poet writes: Life is real, life is earnest, and the grave is not its goal. The typical American may feel that life is real; but he is not convinced that it is earnest, and he is not at all sure that it has a goal. Life does seem earnest to the college athlete. His goal is success for his team and his college, and in his pathway he meets thrills and climaxes. Conflict and competition of various kinds are liked by the young because of the presence of adventure and of thrills. Rivalry provides wholesome stimulation. Athletic contests which allow all to participate are desirable. Each and every one may do what he can in competition with another or with a group. Why college boys desire to become football heroes may be satisfactorily explained by suggesting that at least three appeals are made to fundamental human urges: (1) the desire for significance or for prestige; (2) the presence of vigorous competition, accompanied by climax and thrills; (3) a feeling that something worth while is accomplished. Modern industry does little to give the rank and file a feeling of significance. There is too much of repetition to afford a feeling of adventure or of climax. Too often the worker is not convinced that he is doing a worth-while job. Life in cities and towns after working hours offers little to stimulate any one of the three urges mentioned above.

Many of the men of earlier generations whom we consider great were military men—Alexander the Great, Caesar, William the Conqueror, Cromwell, Frederick the Great, Nelson, Washington, Grant, Lee. War activities have possessed an attractive glamour for many young men. In it have been found adventure, sacrifice for the good of others, prestige, personally disinterested service. College boys desire to become football heroes for similar reasons. If war is to be ended, these interests must be utilized in the pursuits of peace. War has also been called "a great socializer." If true, some substitute in everyday peacetime life must be found which socializes without the accompanying evils of war.

Scientific management in industry with its centralization of control and direction in the hands of the management tends to stifle the instinct of workers for self-expression and self-assertion. The modern labor movement has for one of its aims the opportunity for workers to help in determining working conditions in industry, to allow workers to cooperate with management. Insofar as orders are the result of scientific methods, both workers and management must carry on according to the

determination of experts, but such situations may continue to run counter to the inherited instincts of men.

In the United States today, group action is of increasing importance. To get things done, one must be a member of a group. In industry the dovetailing of the activities of many workers is typical. The product of industry, whether an automobile or a shoe, is the combined product of many associated workers. Pride of workmanship must be translated into the pride of coordinated effort, into "we feeling." Groups are becoming larger and more powerful—cooperatives, corporations, labor organizations, veterans associations, for example. Groups are firmly united when they have common interests and common fears and dangers. War has been a socializer because it was a common danger.

How can interest and enthusiasm be engendered in the daily round of industry and of life? How may it be clearly indicated that industry is carried on for definite, desirable, and appealing human purposes? The present order in the United States is on the road toward disintegration unless the great mass of workers and managers can be induced to work earnestly, efficiently, and joyously. Goals are needed to tap the sources of interest and vigor. Such goals must touch fundamental and widespread impulses, common denominators of human nature in a variety of conditions and social groupings as the desire for significance, prestige, or power and for religious salvation. A preacher pleads for a positive conscience, for one which hurts us if we fail to do good, constructive deeds. Men and women are usually troubled only by "thou shalt nots," by a negative conscience. In a broader realm we are capable of splitting the atom and of disintegrating a city, but we are not able to unite nations in positive action for peace, prosperity, and equality, or to develop common interests in industry sufficiently compelling to end strikes and reprisals. "It is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed," whether in international relations or in industrial relations. A "will to peace" is desperately needed in our troubled world today. A positive will to peace is essential. Peace is not merely the absence of war; it requires law, order, and justice. "Can we anticipate and avert behavior conducive to war" and to industrial strife?

History is a post-mortem on human society. Our study of past forces, difficulties, and successes should enable us to cure some of the social and political ills that afflict society today. Great productivity is beginning to push back the stern necessity of continually struggling against scarcity. Men are able to do what they like at least part of the time; but, as a noted scientist said seventy years ago, man's worst difficulties arise when he can "do as he likes." When society frees itself from abject dependence

upon the production of necessities, when we pass out of the centurieslong scarcity epoch, when men become relatively free to do as they like. it becomes imperative that methods be found enabling them to live together in peace and to act cooperatively for human welfare. Two world wars show clearly the need of directing human efforts toward peace and efficiency. The point of view of the great mass of the people-public opinion—must be catered to by all types of governments. The dictator attempts to direct the course of social and political change. He uses propaganda—appeals to prejudice, passions, and ambitions. He does not hesitate ruthlessly to eliminate those who oppose the trend of events desired by the government. In a democracy and in a scientific age a better way may be found. Psychology, biology, economics, sociology, and history may be drawn upon to give light upon the hidden forces which motivate individuals and groups of people. Human adjustments to a new technological era may be directed so as to avoid the chaos of world war and of constant industrial strife, but the application of scientific principles is imperative.

In a new and strange world leaders of thought and action are needed who are able to face the future with imagination and without too great reliance upon traditions coming down from a very different past. In this new and rapidly changing world, unless mankind is to face catastrophe, men and women should possess the ability to regard without pronounced bias the relative claims, rights, and duties of various groups not only in this complex nation but in the world at large. How can this attitude be made typical? Fortunately, there are indications—perhaps faint—in this interdependent age that certain labor organizations are passing out of the realm occupied by pure and simple pressure groups and into an area in which interest in the general welfare is manifested. Optimists also discern a similar transformation beginning in the management of some large corporations. If such be the case, if it is not merely a matter of wishful thinking on the part of hopeful enthusiasts, this trend is encouraging in a world in which uncertainty, insecurity, and danger appear on all horizons.

A new peacetime goal is one of the most significant needs of this generation. A goal is required for the attainment of which we are willing to sacrifice somewhat as we did in time of war. Unemployment is ended by war; but war is, from a purely economic point of view, a wasteful WPA or PWA. Unfortunately, we hesitate to spend sufficiently for public works in time of peace so that high-level employment may be maintained. It may well be reiterated: if the masses of men are to work enthusiastically for some cause, that cause must be supported by emotional reac-

tions rather than or in addition to clear, cold, logical reasoning. The masses must be "persuaded and sustained by a religious faith or by social ideology, the modern counterpart of religious faith."

America grew strong and powerful under the influence of an attractive goal which took the form of winning the West and of opportunity for all. Today, the west is east, the continent is crisscrossed by roads, railways, and copper wires; and the nation has recently faced grave danger from aggressor nations. We need to picture vividly in this emergency a new goal of liberty plus the necessities of life for every American who is willing to put his shoulder to the wheel. It is a task worthy of the sons and daughters of the pioneer. Americans are willing to sacrifice for democracy and for capitalism controlled by democratic processes. It is clear today that behind the upheaval occasioned by total war is the possibility of sweeping economic and social changes. In the United States labor is demanding and will continue to demand a more influential voice in government and industry.

Whether we like it or not, it is well to recognize the tendencies of the times and to help in making changes without destructive upheavals. To attempt to keep back the tide of events in this world of technology with the broom of invective and name calling is shortsighted and futile. It only makes more heat at a time when more light is sorely needed. In the present emergency the nation is suffering from a lack of design, planning, teamwork, national unity, and a feeling of social responsibility on the part of the typical American. Technology and world war have made extreme nationalism and pioneer individualism out of date—even dangerous for democracy and for civilization.

¹ Carl L. Becker, New Liberties for Old (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 19; also Edward H. Carr, Conditions of Peace (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), pp. 121 ff.

A PHILOSOPHY FOR SOCIOLOGISTS*

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• Time and the world being what they are, it is really a bit cruel to ask a sociologist to wax philosophical about sociology. You are asking him, in effect, to justify his own life work, in which there are little glamour and much seeming confusion. It is easy in these days to avoid the issue, what with one urgent task pressing on another in such rapid succession that the very tempo of the job appears to be ample justification in itself. But your program committee has spoiled all that by giving me the challenge direct—has forced me to take time out for that most painful of all processes—searching one's own soul for convincing answers.

Sociology is a phase of civilization and, as such, can be justified, in part at least, by the great philosophies of civilization coming to us from the past. Civilization may be extolled as the steady and progressive substitution of the finer things of life for the brutish and darkly superstitious parts of human experience. Of civilization, we sociologists along with others can say: "Behold civilized man! He has broken the chains which have bound him to earth and his slimy natural cousins. He has dared to dream and he has made his dreams, one by one, come true!"

This cloak of nobility does not fit the sociologist very snugly and, by itself, will hardly serve as a complete justification. The very preoccupation of his craft with rising rates of crime, delinquency, divorce, insanity, lynchings and the recent memory of that one third of the richest people on earth—ill fed, ill clothed, ill housed—make the sociologist, in all honesty, say: "Behold, not Man, but men. Then side by side with the triumphs of civilization, we shall see, too, the tragedies of progress." Our studies are such that they sully the beautiful dream of civilization rather than add to its luster. No, friends, the sociologist is a very poor dreamer. Insofar as he is a sociologist, he is, instead, a scientist. So why should he not turn to the philosopher of science for his comfort? Let us try.

The philosopher of science is not so much of the past as of the present. When we find him, he is a nervous, jumpy fellow, forever casting glances over his shoulder to make sure that no one is stealing the plans for the atomic bomb. He is surrounded by military police and lives in a sort of concentration camp far off on a mountain top. What he has to say is something like this: "Facts are for their own sake; knowledge is its own justification; understanding is bound, in the long run, to promote human

^{*} An address given by Professor Walter at the installation of the Alpha of New Mexico chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta. Its publication is sponsored by the Alpha of New Mexico chapter, and it appears in its original informal style.

welfare. You social science chaps run along and do to the human being what we have done to matter, and everything will be fine."

Some of the philosophers of science appear a bit frantic about it, and tell us that it is a mad race between total happiness and total destruction; and, unless the social scientists really press down the throttle, the earth will soon be just another dead planet and humanity a cosmic memory. What a stirring challenge that would be-we sociologists, mounting a white charger and galloping off to win man's final battle in his long struggle to achieve utopia and avoid complete disaster! If only the sociologist had not, with William Graham Sumner, studied the folkways-slow-moving, change-resisting customs, which are not an external husk to be shed when the crisis arises but the very warp and woof of human life. If only members of our profession were not out, even now, on a new frontier of understanding called the Sociology of Knowledge, which is, at this moment, debunking the Philosophy of Science itself by the simple expedient of finding out the facts about the fact-finders. We cannot be consistent with our learning and pretend that knowledge for knowledge's sake is an adequate explanation of our efforts.

Why, then, Sociology? We are well established in the field of education, which suggests that perhaps our justification lies there.

The philosopher of education tells us that education is a worthy task because it enriches lives by stimulating intellectual interest, it improves the quality of citizenship by making intelligent voters, and it prepares people to make a decent living. Sociology is a notably poor preparation for making a living, so our share of the undertaking must lie in the other two There we find the philosopher of education holds a weak and awkward position, for the educator has had his chance, pretty much on his own terms, and his philosophy can, therefore, be judged by results. Every child is herded through the schools, kept there for long hours each day, three fourths of the year, and for many years. Yet we look in vain for the better citizenship or the intelligent voting which should follow. I still read and hear of corruption and bungling in high places and low, of uninterested voters failing to vote, or electing silly men to responsible posts on issues that should make them blush for shame. Voters today are more cynical, perhaps, but little wiser than they were in the days when very few could read or write.

In weighing the intellectual enrichment which universal education has given to American life we find distressing facts in our way. The comic strip and funny books are the favorite reading, the soap opera the favorite entertainment, the adolescent love-dream movie or the hackneyed "western" the favorite art of the millions who are products of the Ameri-

can schools. The philosophy of education is greatly embarrassed by the performance of education in America which has systematically and successfully worked to make all things intellectual distasteful to, and mistrusted by, the American people. That is a serious indictment, but the evidence is so overwhelming that it cannot be ignored. And I am not much further along in my effort to find a convincing philosophy for sociology.

In my desperation I turn to books and thumb them through, hoping something will turn up. My eye is caught by a passage from Herodotus. It is the account of a philosopher speaking to Croesus, the richest man in the world, and telling Croesus why he cannot be called a happy man despite his wealth.

"He who unites the greatest number of advantages, and retains them to the day of his death, then dies peaceably—that man, alone, sire, is in my judgment entitled to bear the name of 'happy.' But in every matter it behooves us to mark well the end. For oftentimes God gives men a gleam of happiness, and then plunges them into ruin."

Such was the speech which Solon addressed to Croesus, a speech which brought him neither largess nor honor. The king, with much indifference, saw Solon depart, since the former thought a man must be an arrant fool who made no account of present good, but bade men always wait and mark the end!

And just a fragment of a line from Lucretius gets passing notice: ". . . . human kind, bewildered in the maze of life, and blind!"

And Dr. Johnson, speaking of books and saying "that they help us to enjoy life, or to endure it."

These fragments do not make a philosophy for sociology, but I begin to get a feeling tone which appears to have meaning in our world today. How unbearable the thought of Solon that we cannot consider ourselves happy but must always mark the end, and how fitting and inescapable a paradox for us today when we live in the shadows of fears—fears of new and more terrible wars, fears of new and worse depressions, nagging personal fears of individual failure! How many of those about us are groping, "bewildered in the maze of life, and blind"! And how many endure life, who cannot enjoy it! With always the ever-recurring refrain for each of us: "There, but for the grace of God, go I."

I might recall to you that best-known of passages from the dialogues of Plato in which he pictures mankind chained in the bottom of a cave, staring at shadows on the wall—and since they are all he has seen—considering them to be reality. He describes the torture that results if one is suddenly turned about to face the light, to see the true nature of things in all their naked clarity—and the stubborn and pitiful insistence of that one that only the comfortable shadows are real, and reality is a sham.

This disturbing picture has a peculiar pertinence for sociologists, for

only they, of all the scientists, have deliberately undertaken to stare into the light of the realities that constitute human life. And how often and stubbornly the students of sociology, asked to turn from the shadows on the wall, declare of sociology: "Oh, it's all theory—it has no facts," and turn back to the shadows to rest their puzzled eyes.

I would say, fortunate those who need never turn from the shadows of things and events, who need never face the light of facts! But our lives are such that we find ourselves compelled, each and every one of us, to stare occasionally at the facts; and without a previous discipline the experience is confusing, blinding, shocking. Can we say, then, in partial justification of sociology, that it is the preparation of those who are its disciples to face the blinding glare to which all must at one time or another be exposed?

Let us go further in our mental thumbing of pages until we come to J. A. Hobson, the English social philosopher. His preoccupation is to find *the* social problem which would give an excuse for a study of society. Again, I quote:

Intellectually considered, it seems at first indifferent whether we take a positive or negative position. Taken the former way, the Social Question assumes this shape: Given a number of human beings, with a certain development of physical and mental faculties, and with a certain command of natural resources, how can they best utilize those powers for the attainment of the most complete satisfaction? This statement of the Social Problem does not really beg any question, though it may seem to do so, for it purposely leaves open for interpretation the term satisfaction and the question of quality versus quantity in the measure of completeness. If, however, it seems a more definite statement of the end, no harm is done by adopting Ruskin's words, "The largest number of healthy and happy human beings."

The negative setting of the Social Question may be allowed in the beginning to assume an even broader shape. From this standpoint the Social Question will find its essential unity in the problem of how to deal with human waste.

How to deal with human waste! Physical science and technology have long been at grips with the fairly simple problems of reducing the material waste entailed in human group life . . . but the waste of human lives themselves! How arresting it is to think of the millions upon millions of human lives which are lived without meaning or satisfaction, either to the selves who live them, or to others, or to humanity. Is the task of sociology, perhaps, to try, as it reaches more and more people, to give them a basis, not for enduring life, but for getting some abiding satisfaction from living, without resorting to a dream world which is simply escape? As I see the world today, and review the scores of lives which have come into my vision, I think that such a justification might be the most meaningful of all.

This comes perilously close to an individualistic philosophy to justify

the study of our collective life. It means the ultimate test of sociology is to be found in the extent to which each of its students is better equipped to maintain a satisfying balance amid the hectic distractions and excursions of human existence.

The American sociologist and social philosopher, Charles Horton Cooley, took to task those who would saddle upon democracy a bewildering and fantastic array of impossible responsibilities and tasks. The hope of democratic thought is a much simpler and humbler thing, he says. "The hope of democracy is that of finding in every group, no matter how great or small, the kind of activities in which each may do his best work, and so live his best life. It asks only the opportunity for each individual to find himself in cooperation with his fellows." The waste of human life, which Hobson called *the* social problem, can be described in Cooley's terms, as the failure of most individuals to "find themselves." This is particularly true of civilized peoples. And why? we may well ask. Here we come to the crucial test of my reasoning.

Civilized man is a self-worshipper. Cumulatively, through the centuries, he has indulged so greatly his passion for self-flattery that he has created ideals and fancied norms, in comparison with which the individual must always find himself delinquent. The individual must be so occupied with hopeless strivings, blustering effort to cover his own fancied inadequacies, and self-recriminations that he never has time or energy or the perspective to live. So distorting is the effect upon an individual that until he dares to admit failure he can find no comfort in his own company and no tolerance for his own limited human capacities. Until he not only admits failure but finds a rationalization for that failure, he has no chance to enjoy the experience of living. These adjustments come hard—and they usually come late in life, if at all—so that, as Hobson says, the

waste is appalling!

Every one of us—I do not exempt myself—is under the constant spur to be something better than he is, to achieve more than he has achieved, and to excel all others if he can. Each of us has been told by commencement speakers and their like, time and again, to "hitch your wagon to a star," "do the seeming impossible"—never to surrender one's ideals and high goals. The value of such exhortations is that they fit in with the general cultural scheme in which we happen to live; and their disvalue, if accepted, is that they make it impossible to live in enjoyment of today, for we must always be extending our lives in imagination into a non-existent future where we can envision ourselves as nearer to our own ideals of perfection. Taken seriously, it is a never-ending process, for goals set up for ourselves are not satisfactions when achieved, but are new stimuli to further goals in another tomorrow. It is the rankest of cultural

heresies, I realize, to talk like this, and even to hint that it is an unhealthy way to live. I can only excuse myself by pointing out that the knowledge of today was the heresy of yesterday, and quite probably the wisdom of tomorrow will be compounded of cultural heresies of today. Certainly there are signs on every hand that our system is not working well, that it produces tremendous waste of human lives, and logic is against its working any better in the future.

Waste, by definition, is unnecessary. Life can be lived so that expectations and possible realization may be reconciled, but only when we recognize the difference between the shadows on the wall and the realities which cast those shadows. All intellectual interests and pursuits may serve as aids in satisfactory living, and without them its achievement is hard. But intellectual pursuits, too far cut off from facts, serve, in the long run, only to make the intellectual more vulnerable than others to the "flings and arrows of outrageous fortune." The intellectual who is pure idealist is in the position of the athlete running a hurdle race blindfolded. He is going to have a painful fall!

Sociology is an intellectual pursuit of the first order, for is not Man the proper study of man? There is no more fascinating field for investigation, through one's entire life, than this remarkable and intricate arrangement we call society. But the sociologist is so determined to study reality—and not some synthetic substitute—that he should soon learn to face the blinding light of day with a steadfast, unwavering gaze. That's good human medicine for those who take it—and it offers the possibility of giving meaning to lives by discovering more and more of the meaning of life.

The principal misunderstanding of sociology, no doubt shared in varying degrees by many of you, is the notion that sociology is a fancy name for social reform. By implication the sociologist should be running hither and you to remake our politico-economic order. The sociologist cannot be a reformer. The very patience required to ferret out knowledge and understanding disqualifies him for leading crusades. He must, as his knowledge increases, remain humble in the face of precious facts. He must be tolerant even of intolerance if he is to understand intolerance. He must be ever in quest of truths, not for their own sake, but to try to give much-needed perspective to individual lives. If he can do that he is justified. I think that he can and does.

I do not know if I have given you a satisfying philosophy for sociology. Undoubtedly others in this room, and outside it, could have done better. But thanks for letting me stand here and think aloud. The experience has done me some good.

SOME POSTWAR CHALLENGES TO SOCIOLOGY

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• In this postwar or prepeace period, amid the major ideological conflicts and paradoxes which persist along with minor antics in semantics and logomachies, sociology can consider the next few years as a time of great challenge and opportunity. But the social scientist has no complacency, and not too much confidence about the future. The times will try our sociological souls, wits, and abilities to the utmost. We behold civilization in a more perilous and unhappy state than ever before, with individuals and social institutions giving slight evidence of making adequate adjustments.

For a long time sociologists have been peculiarly aware of society's myopic condition, its fumblings and misdirections. At home and abroad we have seen swift modern technicways roughing it over the older folkways, mores, and morals. Civilization is skidding on a mucky field and time seems to be running out. Not that sociology can play any heroic role at this late date, but there are some things we can suggest in the interests of societal stability, even though much of it sounds like talking to ourselves. Realizing that there is yet no great demand for scientific solutions in the social realm, all that remains is to do our best against societal shortsightedness.

First of all, we can demonstrate a willingness, even eagerness, for teamwork among ourselves in research and in the educational processes. The atomic scientists have worked hard and well together; sociologists and other social scientists have tended to go it alone, atomistically. Lately, however, critical but converging voices among us are calling for cooperative effort toward more meaningful and integrated research. "We are keen on showing the flaws in the work of our colleagues, but how often do we collaborate with each other to discover the truth on which we can agree . . .? Sociology has been much better on the theory of cooperation than in its practice in scientific research." "Social science research, perhaps more than research in the natural sciences, requires cooperative effort—group participation. It will be the good research team, not the lone wolf, that produces, by far, most of the significant research of the future . . . Moreover, such teams need not to be restricted to a single uni-

¹ Dwight Sanderson, "Sociology a Means to Democracy," American Sociological Review, February, 1943, p. 8.

versity, or a single institution or agency; they could be organized on a community-wide, a state-wide, a national, and eventually, perhaps even on an international basis."2 "The opportunity for individualistic activity is a part of the psychic income of the academic vocation, but it is also responsible for the atomistic character of our research . . . The physical scientists have shown us what scientific cooperation can mean."8 Other sociologists have similarly expressed themselves in recent months.

Science and democracy stand or fall together. Science generally, sociology certainly, has prospered only in democracies. The very nature of the sociologist's data, the most difficult and sensitive of all subject matter in the entire gamut of science, causes him to be deeply conscious of democratic values and responsibilities as these relate to social research and teaching. He is confident, in common with other scientists, that no better political system than democracy has yet been devised for the advancement of scientific and human welfare. Therefore, in addition to stimulating more cooperative effort among ourselves, there is a challenge to us to pitch in with other forward-looking scientists, whatever their field of activity. This will to participate seems to have been welcomed by leaders of the dominant sciences but not without disparagements.4 Never has there been such a challenging opportunity for those with the capacity for cooperative work, for those who believe that scientific pursuits and democracy survive or perish together.

In the second place, we can suggest that some of our sociological research—past, present, and future—may have some vital bearing directly or indirectly on matters of national and international importance. We would emphasize that only through sufficient financing can the social sciences hope to do anything comparable with the other sciences. Improved methods are certainly to be sought. The challenge is manifold. There is a focal urgency about the mid-point of this century that forbids our sitting timidly on our modesty. We have done some creditable work

Review, August, 1946, p. 382.

3 Robert F. Winch, "Two Billions for What? A Proposal for Social Research," American Sociological Review, October, 1946, p. 637.

See also in the same journal, June, 1946, p. 357, short statement by E. S. Bogardus; also George Lundberg, "The Growth of Scientific Method," American Journal of Sociology, May, 1945, pp. 507-08.

4 See Hauser, ibid., pp. 380-81. Also the A.A.S. Bulletin, August, 1946, pp. 62-

² Philip M. Hauser, "Are the Social Sciences Ready?" American Sociological

^{63,} carried a note, "Social Implications of Modern Science," vigorously denouncing the statements made by a "renowned scientist" on May 28, 1946, before the Congressional Committee concerned with the National Science Foundation bill (S.1850). "The only amendment which was adopted eliminated the proposed Division of Social Science . . . It is tragic when disparaging statements are made before Congressional Committees composed of men who are seeking dispassionate testimony on vital matters beyond their ken."

to which community, regional, and national leaders have given little heed. We can do convincingly better with more support.

From the international sphere to local situations the crises are of such magnitude that everyone capable of projective thinking is either scared or perplexed. How often since August, 1945, have we seen or heard the expression "collective suicide"?

"Most of these (nuclear) physicists have plumped for a world government as the only solution. W. F. Ogburn wants them to sit down with the social scientists and arrive at a more realistic solution, and for the reason that 'research training in physics is probably of no more value in social science than a medical training would be in building the dam at Grand Coulee.' "5 It may be, of course, that world government is the only solution; but Ogburn wants them to sit down, not to hurry to that conclusion. Maybe world government is not the answer. The implication here is—at least the one I would emphasize—that the physicists realize they have "cooked up" something "too hot to handle" with customary techniques or the usual sociopolitical devices. Just what that "more realistic solution" might be no one can say, but the only promising possibility rests in the early joint efforts of social scientists, physical scientists, and statesmen.6

The way toward the solution will probably mean more intensive and extensive research in regionalism, demography, communication, ecology, attitudes, and a great number of highly specialized studies oriented toward the roots of societal conflict and cooperation. Whether sufficient time remains to bring the research forces into action and, after that is done, whether the peoples and their leaders will utilize the results constructively are unanswerable questions at present.

This brings me to what must be a very brief consideration of a third compelling challenge to sociology: more effective teaching of the subject. If sociologists and all other social scientists will do a better job at the undergraduate and graduate levels, it is likely that there will be better teachers in the lower schools, better preachers in the churches, better citizens in the community. Sociological mindedness is the crying need of these troubled years. We need to attract a larger proportion of the ablest students. Some of us are suspicious that we do not get what ought

5 Waldemar Kaempffert, "Science in Review," New York Times, September 29, 1946, pp. E-11.

⁶ Significant for its research implications in the larger realm of peace is Professor Elton Mayo's twenty-year program in industrial research. Someone has just suggested that he merits a Nobel prize for his scientific accomplishments. In true Darwinian fashion he found it necessary to shift his original hypothesis. See his The Social Problems of an Industrial Society and leading articles in Harper's and Fortune for November, 1946.

to be our share of them as majors in sociology. As Professor Hankins has recently said, we had better cease being a popular undergraduate subject and make our courses as demanding as laboratory courses. Better textbooks, better classroom methods, and better examinations are all in the picture. The results of good research and good teaching need desperately to flow through channels that will reach the people. If youth, most of whom do not graduate from high school, are to approach satisfactory adjustments in a world fluid with change and frustration, and if they are to do their part in the huge impending task of social control and redirection, then more and better attention must be given to a wide range of current interrelationships and conditions that are meaningful for social living today.7 It is for this reason that I would stress as particularly challenging the need to impress all teachers, elementary as well as high school, with the importance of being sociologically minded. How much more impressive today are these words from a report of the Carnegie Foundation of a few years ago: "It would be more encouraging for democracy if the teachers going into our junior high schools and high schools had a better foundation in economics, political science, and sociology." And that statement is applicable to many a university teacher too.

Twenty years ago, with his bright new Ph.D. degree flashing in his ivory tower, a young sociologist responded to a query about Edison as a scientist: "Oh, no, no; he is too practical!" How strange that sounds now. Sociologists should, of course, give a good deal of time to meditation and considerable attention to more abstract, long-range topics. Perhaps some projects will not be visibly practical. We doubtless need to give increasing thought and emphasis to improved methods and sound theory, but what we most need to do now is to test out whatever knowledge we think we have by applying it to existing situations. This implies no rushing out to carry the ball down the field of reform, but it does mean that as scientist-citizens in critical days we ought to be closer than we have been to the game on the field. Over against any warning that we might endanger our scientific objectivity if we serve as consultants or researchers for business, labor, religion, or government, can we not trust the checking and controlling effect of the teamwork so strongly urged earlier in this article?

We need purposive diagnostic studies as never before, and diagnostic research is incomplete unless it points to or seeks some kind of therapy.

⁷ This long, polysyllabled sentence is a perfect illustration of how the sociologist needs to encourage himself in more simple forms of expression and, if he is interested in being understood by the man in the street, to consider "How Does Your Writing Read?" This is the title of a leaflet procurable for five cents from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.

The worthy goal of discovery is human betterment It is imperative that there be a new age of science and society in which those who cause science to grow accept their full part of the responsibility for the proper uses of knowledge. No retardation in discovery, invention, and scientific industry is likely to occur. There must be an unprecedented increase of understanding and loyalty to the services to be rendered to a confused and inadequately guided society, badly in need of clarity regarding enduring principles and methods of human betterment Such workers will need even wider and more intensive personal education than is common even in good scientific research. The significance of returns from such research is likely to exceed those of so-called pure science.8

Although the above was written by a botanist, there is no mistaking its applicability to us in the social sciences. "The worthy goal of discovery is human betterment."

When we give ourselves to more teamwork in the interests of societal adjustment, when we make our research and teaching more vital and purposive toward the betterment of the local and world community, perhaps then the results of our labors will receive significant recognition, something which they now lack.

⁸ O. W. Caldwell, A.A.A.S. Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 1, January, 1944.

TOWN AND COUNTRY IN REVOLUTION

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1

• The problem of this paper is: In what ways do urban and rural areas function in a time of revolution as to both the type and rate of change? The purpose will be to formulate a series of generalizations based upon observations of four revolutionary periods: England in the seventeenth century, America and France in the late eighteenth, and Russia since 1900. These generalizations are tentative: they are hypotheses for the further sociological study of revolution.

II

As in normal times, during revolution the urban area is the center of This predominance is based on a number of important factors. As a rule, the "city" is the innovating center of a culture, the "country" is preserver. Resistance to cultural change is most marked in the country. The dominance of the city in revolution is based also on the higher degree of organization obtaining there. In closer contact, carrying on functions requiring highly institutionalized and greatly ramified associational behaviors, possessing superior and more numerous communication devices, in closer touch with the mechanisms of control, urban people can more quickly and more permanently mobilize themselves for revolutionary action. The urban dominance is in part due to its greater mobility of attitudes; by that is meant the rapidity with which the urban population can change its allegiance, can be swaved from its more immediate needs and demands. Rural revolutionary groups seldom become involved in abstract ideologies; the environment with which they are concerned is a relatively limited one; it is a highly overt world. In the long run, though not immediately, their slight fluidity of attitudes is an important factor in revolution, a factor which made Lenin, for example, beat a "strategic retreat," as he put it, with his "New Economic Policy."

A strategic factor in the urban area is the high concentration of control institutions and communication mechanisms. Here are centered the powerful judicial, administrative, legislative, and military control instruments. The urban area is the center of the political process, of the economic institutions, of the religious or ecclesiastical institutions. Here likewise are the overhead organizations of social, fraternal, cultural, and

other groups and associations. Backed by superior organization, insight, and control mechanisms, the propaganda and communication of the city prove to be pervasive. It was not the "narodnic" socialists who finally ruled Russia, but the urban, proletarian, left-wing Social Democrats, the Bolshevists. It was not the radical agrarians who wrote the Federal Constitution, but the merchants, lawyers, and landed aristocrats.

III

Urban and rural areas differ in revolution as to the nature of their objectives. Thus, the urban groups quickly go beyond the economic to the political in their demands. Urban revolutionaries are more abstract, sophisticated, and derivative in their objectives. Rural groups, apart from certain exceptional persons, articulate their expectations in terms of primary organizations and elemental institutions not infrequently derived from their traditional heritages. Not social reconstruction, but social reform is usually the keynote of rural objectives. Except for these simple, concrete aims, the attitudinal responses of rural society are usually negative, expressed in overt forms of resentment and protest. With urban revolutionaries attitudinal responses to the tensions of a revolutionary epoch tend to be political-direct, positive, socially reconstructive, and systematic. There are mob scenes, but they are organized mob scenes, seldom situationally evoked. The tendency of urban revolutionaries is to extend their resentments beyond the overt and simple symbolic bases, to go beyond simple institutional sanctions, to press their protests toward the reconstruction of the institutional framework of society. This is perhaps another way of calling attention to the cosmopolitan and international character of urban revolutionary objectives.

IV

One of the most obvious generalizations about the collective action patterns characteristic of urban and rural areas in revolution concerns the patterns of integration of activities in the urban area. A fascinating thing about revolution is the manner in which collective behaviors are coordinated and then extended in an ever-widening circle during and following revolution. This is often the work of a strong revolutionary party with "cells" and centers in scattered sections of the country; structurally the network has the appearance of a pyramid. Often this integration is the work of a secret society, working in concert, by subterfuge.

Integration in revolution, inexplicable without reference to revolutionary groups, is largely instrumentalized through the functions of the extensive political and economic organizations of society. All revolutionary

groups quickly come to terms with the political and economic institutions, for they embody the supreme technics of control. The political organization of society is much more in evidence in the city, acts with greater swiftness and greater capacity of intimidation, and displays its power in large manifest patterns. In the urban area, moreover, economic processes, especially in their highly institutionalized form, become very quickly the object of collective control by the revolutionaries. In the city are found economic activities in their most collectivistic aspects. Revolutionary collectivism is merely the political adaptation of existing economic forms. Unrest and agitation in a collective sense, on its leadership and planned side, begin in the city.

The rural community is the locale of frequent spontaneous and relatively programless uprisings. A factor in this spontaneity is the lack of flexibility in rural socioeconomic life, due in part to the absence of ideological orientation and functional differentiation and in part to the individualistic character of agricultural pursuits. When accumulated "stresses and strains" break under the impact of economic dislocation, sudden opportunities for expression, and the stimulation from revolutionary agitation, the collective action patterns of the rural areas become diffuse, planless, almost cathartic in their effect on the emotions. Reintegration is difficult because the habit patterns of obedience and subordination, effective leadership, and the confidence in the old relationships are gone. Besides, the stimuli for action initially are quite generally centered around the simplest of foci, those of immediate tangible interests. These having been attained, the agitation and protest movement assumes institutionalized form, becomes quiescent, and will not arise until and if the gains which have been consolidated are threatened. In contrast, one notes in the urban area that the stimuli for action in a time of revolution are generally more derivative and ideological. The division of interest and the momentum of organization are much greater. As a result, the tendency of the revolutionary process in the urban community is steadily toward extremism, unless checked by counterrevolution. If successful, the swing toward radicalism becomes institutionalized, assumes all the symbols and technics of authority, and proceeds to integrate the society along the lines of its ideological orientation until and if defeated by foreign invasion or counterrevolution or intragroup secessions.

V

There are corresponding differences in the types of revolutionary technics used in urban and rural communities. In the latter the situational and simpler institutional and organizational technics come in for extensive

use. Thus, resort to mob violence, local soviets, loosely federated political societies are common. In urban communities there is a greater employment of highly developed organizational and institutional technics. Urban revolutionaries have a plethora of institutions of a derivative sort, instruments of power both political and economic. Here is the basis for the observation that, though the stress and strain of a society may at first appear in protest form in a rural region, its revolutionary expression proceeds with greater rapidity and thoroughness in the urban area.

Urban and rural people differ in their use of symbolic technics in a time of revolution. Urban revolutionary groups employ symbolic technics far more extensively than do rural groups. This fact may be due to a number of things. The symbolic technics may simply be more available; urban groups may be socially more widespread and differentiated and therefore require greater symbolic instrumentation; the environment to which urban groups must make adjustment may be so complex and dynamic as to necessitate any or all control technics. One is impressed not only by the sheer variety of these technics but also by their intellectual and emotional appeals, by their indulgence of profound thought and their clever exploitation of feeling.

In contrast, there is in the revolutionary rural situation a predominance of emotional and simple intellectual symbolic technics. It is "land," "bread," "kulaks," the "Roundheads," the "priests," "the home" that appeal to "the rural mind." These are concrete cues, simply institutional, individualistic, unsystematized, strongly felt, succinct statements of an elementary sense of justice. The appeal of revolutionary symbolism is consistently to the obvious, provincial, individual needs of reform. These symbols stand in striking relief beside those utilized among urban groups; the latter are political, class, security, prestige symbols. "The Third Estate? What is it? It is nothing! What does it want to be? Everything!"

VI

Certain generalizations may be made about the urban-rural differentia as to a very significant phase of revolution, institutional reorganization. "Institutional" as used here refers of course to the great social institutions, such as those of the political process including the legislative, administrative, judicial, or those of the economic process including the commercial, financial, industrial, and so on. For the most part, institutional reorganization in revolution tends to be urban in ideology, initiation, and control and tends to be more rapid in the rate of change in the urban than in the rural regions.

Several distinct patterns of action may be noted. Thus, urban revolutionary groups tend to set up effective temporary institutional forms, awaiting subsequent modification on a permanent basis. A provisional government functions until the call of a constituent assembly. The modifications which take place in the institutional improvisations are urban in origin and method.

The types of institutional reorganization of the two areas differ in the matter of degree. Thus, rural groups make libertarian demands, and when the occasion comes, their institutional reforms prove to be just as individualistic as their demands. However, urban institutional reorganization in revolution tends to be more systematic. The marked relationship with and dependence on formulated ideological insistences of urban revolutionaries explain, in all probability, the greater care and thoroughness with which urban-initiated reorganization is carried on.

The institutional reorganization in revolution is, of course, directly dependent on the type of economy of a people. This relationship is most marked in the urban community. Thus, in rural society the demands of revolutionary groups are fairly homogeneous: increase in the size of holdings, individual ownership, freedom from legal and financial restrictions, and so forth. But in urban society socioeconomic development makes an enormous difference. If the revolution is the work of middle-class leadership groups, as in the English, American, French, and the 1905 Russian revolutions, it is accompanied and followed by slow, moderate extensions of traditional institutional patterns. The most radical reform will be in the elimination of the older legal and political procedures and privileges. Even if the revolution fails and an older aristocratic class regains control, some technical extensions are made in the interest of making and keeping the situation calm. Even the most radical of middle-class revolutionary changes, in spite of its imposing structural reintegration, is in the direction of release from the bonds of an inflexible political and economic organization and toward the imperative consolidation of the gains which have been made.

However, institutional reorganization which originates with a lower income class, such as the industrial laborers, tends to be composed largely of new, radical patterns or logical extensions of previously attempted adjustments. These reforms are similar to those of the more radical middle-class revolutionaries, except that they are the result of another kind of motivation, more positive and more ideologically determined.

Granting the socioeconomic conditioning of revolutionary change, it should be obvious that the rate of institutional reorganization in revolu-

tion in the urban and rural areas is highly variable. For the "middle-class revolution" the rate of change proceeds at a rapid rate in both areas. The main *motif* is release from an old domination and stability in new enterprise. If the chief motivation is economically proletarian and ideologically radical and utopian, institutional reorganization proceeds initially at a fast rate in the urban world, but slowly and painfully in the rural world. The experiences of Soviet Russia are eloquent evidence of this observation.

ACHIEVEMENT FACTORS IN UTAH*

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• A recent research study by Thorndike disclosed that in proportion to population, Utah ranked above all states in the nation in the production of men who have achieved eminence. He checked entries in the 1938 edition of Cattell's American Men of Science, the 1938-39 edition of Who's Who in America, and the 1932 edition of Cattell's Leaders in Education, and classified what he called the nation's "superior men" according to the states of their births. Combining his totals from the three biographical dictionaries, he found that per million population at the approximate time of their births, Utah produced 857 eminent men. Massachusetts, the next highest ranking state, produced 709, and the median state produced 439.2 Utah produced at a rate approximately six times that of the lowest state.

A greater proportion of the Utah men were scientists, taken from American Men of Science, than was the case for the nation as a whole. Of the total entries listed by Thorndike, 45.3 per cent were taken from American Men of Science, 46.8 per cent from Who's Who in America, and 7.9 per cent from Leaders in Education, whereas the corresponding percentages for Utah were 57.4, 35.9, and 6.7.

The purpose of the present study was to determine if in Utah there were some factors in the social and cultural environment, not generally existing in other states, which may have contributed to the production of eminent men. It was realized that there were factors in Utah's environment unfavorable to achievement, but this study was confined to a search for favorable factors. It was assumed that most factors in the present social and cultural environment also operated during the early formative years of Thorndike's "superior men." The tentative hypothesis is that a combination of certain unusual aspects of the Utah social and cultural environment contributed stimuli conducive to early development within the individual of attitudes which make for achievement and eminence.

Data for the study were derived from a comprehensive study of the literature on Utah and on the Mormons; an analysis of the short

^{*} The publication of this paper is sponsored by the chapter of the sociology honor society, Alpha Kappa Delta, at The University of Southern California.

¹ E. L. Thorndike, "The Origin of Superior Men," Scientific Monthly, 56:424-32, May, 1943.

² Ibid., p. 426, Table III.

biographies of 543 eminent Utah men included in Who's Who in America (1942-43 edition), American Men of Science (1938 edition), Leaders in Education (1932 edition); questionnaire data from 233 of these men; and information obtained as a participant observer in the Utah-Mormon culture.

Approximately 63 per cent of the Utah population is affiliated with the Mormon church, and 90 per cent of all church members in Utah are Mormons.³ In recent years there has been an abundance of literature published on the state and its people.⁴

Mormon history is a story of human conflict. The church had its beginning in 1830 in New York state, but Mormon-Gentile conflict succeeded in pushing them westward to Missouri within a decade. By the winter of 1846 mobs, unsympathetic toward Mormon bizarre beliefs and doctrines, had driven them from their homes in the Middle West, and they were forced to seek sanctuary in the wilderness of the Far West. In the Mormon trek from their lost Zion to Utah thousands died of privation. They were pursued even to Utah by their eastern enemies, and in addition were confronted with the problem of conquering the Indians and fighting an inclement nature for every morsel of food they ate.⁵

Out of this conflict situation have grown a people and a culture unusual in many respects. Certain aspects of the Utah environment considered as possibly favorable to human achievement will now be considered.

Education. Education is defined for the Mormon child as one of the highest goals of life. Early in his life he is indoctrinated with the Mormon church tenet of "eternal progress," which teaches that knowledge gained in this world will be taken by him to the next. Joseph Smith, the founder of the church, stated that "the glory of God is intelligence," that "man is

³ An analysis of the entries in the 1942-43 edition of Who's Who in America, the 1938 edition of American Men of Science, and the 1941 edition of Leaders in Education indicated that in proportion to number, the Mormon population of Utah contributed slightly more eminent men than did the non-Mormon. However, since Mormon policy has molded nearly every aspect of the Utah social and cultural environment, it is not particularly important to the present study which group has predominated in producing men of achievement.

⁴ For a sociological emphasis see Nels Anderson, Desert Saints; the Mormon Frontier in Utah (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942). Colorful novels include Vardis Fisher, Children of God; an American Epic (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939); and Maurine Whipple, The Giant Joshua (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941). For a descriptive illustrated book on Utah today see Maurine Whipple, This Is the Place; Utah (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945). The most controversial book at the present time is Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945). For the viewpoint of Mormon church members see B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930).

⁵ See Paul W. Tappan, "The Mormons: Legal Constraints of a Minority," Journal of Legal and Political Sociology, 4:77-91, Winter, 1945-46.

saved no faster than he gains knowledge," and that "as God is, man may become, and as man is, God once was." These aphorisms have found wide usage among church members to the present day.

The Utah culture awards what appears to be an unusually high social status to the college student and the college graduate. During the depression it was not uncommon in Utah families to hear stories of a student washing his only shirt daily, or otherwise enduring severe hardship in order to finish college.

As early as 1848 Brigham Young instructed all missionaries, converts, and church members to spare no effort in the task of gathering all types of books and educational materials on all the arts and sciences so that schools could be established in Utah. In line with this educational policy, three universities were established in Utah by 1888. There are no reliable comparative statistics available for the approximate period that Thorn-dike's "superior men" were being educated, but evidence available suggests that Utah has always spent an abnormally high proportion of her income on education.

In 1940, with a population of 550,310, Utah had within her borders three universities, one Catholic college, and five junior colleges. Her resident college enrollment for the regular session, 1939-40, was 13,043 students, more than twice that of the nation as a whole in proportion to population.⁶

Formal education has long been known to be closely associated with eminence. Brooks found that out of 29,389 men listed in the 1935-36 edition of Who's Who in America, who gave adequate details concerning education, 74.73 per cent were college graduates and 85.56 per cent had had some college training. Formal education is even more closely associated with eminence strictly in the fields of science and education than in the occupational fields represented in Who's Who in America.

Population pressure. Utah's birth rate has been high, and means of livelihood within the state have been inadequate. Utah youth have grown up, especially in the rural areas, to see no place for them in their

⁶ Statistics of Higher Education, 1939-40 and 1941-42, Vol. II, United States Office of Education. In Utah 2.37 per cent of the population was enrolled in colleges and universities for the regular session (September to June) only, 1939-40, whereas 1.13 per cent of the total United States population was enrolled in colleges and universities for the same period. It is interesting to note that Utah's college and university enrollment exceeds the national average by approximately the same degree as does her production of eminent men.

⁷ W. S. Brooks, "Who's Who in America and Higher Education," School and Society, 44:543-44, October, 1936.

⁸ Mapheus Smith, "General Formal Education by Field of Eminence," Scientific Monthly, 50:544-57, June, 1940.

local economy. They have been forced to either migrate or go to school and prepare for a skilled trade or profession. Since educational opportunities have been good, they have gone to school more often than not. There they have found it necessary to make good or to face a world without opportunity. When the Utah student leaves the state with his scant, hard-earned savings to pursue higher education, he is better able to make his college career more central in his life than is the student who has less at stake.

The Mormon missionary system. Travel and the broadening effects of contacts with strange cultures have left their marks on thousands of young Mormon missionaries and have probably started some of them on the road to hard-earned eminence. This has happened in spite of the thought-suppressing influences inherent in missionary duty.

Since its inception, the Mormon church has maintained a strong voluntary missionary force in all parts of the world. In 1906 the church, with a membership of 215,796, reported 1,600 foreign missionaries active in approximately 20 countries. ¹¹ In recent pre-World War II years it was not uncommon for as many as 2,500 missionaries to be in service throughout the United States and foreign countries at one time.

Thousands of young missionaries with varying degrees of ability and with little specialized training were taken from Utah towns and farms and sent at their own expense to the various countries of Europe, South America, Africa, etc.¹² Here they were confronted with the necessity of learning new languages and adapting to new cultures. The period of service has customarily been limited to two or three years. In this short period many of these young men had their eyes opened to new opportunities, and upon their return were reluctant to settle in the occupations which they left. The Utah people and their universities have profited directly from this system, since there has been a constant influx of new ideas and new student converts borrowed directly from many of the cultures of the world.

⁹ Ariel Smith Ballif, An Analysis of the Behavior of Rural People on Relief in Utah County, Utah, during the Years of 1932 to 1943, Ph.D. Dissertation, Los Angeles, The University of Southern California Library, 1945.

¹⁰ The census migration statistics, 1935-40, show Utah to have a net out-migration of 12,292. With the exception of Montana, Utah was the only state in the Western region which did not have a surplus of in-migrants over out-migrants.

¹¹ Census of Religious Bodies, 1906, Part II, p. 330.

¹² The church prescribes no specific educational requirements for its missionaries. They are recommended by the bishops of the various wards, chiefly on the basis of faithful church participation and character. Most are between 18 and 25 years of age. A short period of specialized training is given them before they depart for duty.

Polygyny. It is likely that polygyny contributed toward Utah's high rate of eminence. Polygyny among the Mormons was limited almost completely to the church leaders and others economically capable, and considered worthy of supporting large families. Thus the Mormons reversed the dysgenic practice of birth control among the intellectually elite and made it possible for those in the upper social and economic classes to reproduce themselves several times as fast as those in the lower. For example, Brigham Young was survived by 17 wives and 47 children.

Various studies have exploded the popular American myth that the underprivileged classes are the source of the nation's great men and leaders. In studying eminent Americans included in Who's Who in America, 1922-23 edition, Visher found that approximately 70 per cent of the notables were fathered by men in business and professional classes, and that these classes comprised but 7.5 per cent of the nation's men in 1870.18

Compensation. Despite arduous work in their new Zion the Mormons were denied facilities necessary for comfortable living, chiefly because of the sheer niggardliness of the rocky, arid land. When outsiders, many of whom were rich with California gold and produce, began to pass through and filter into the West, the Utah people felt deeply their comparative lack of affluence. Economic inadequacy, coupled with outside persecution and the belief that they were a chosen people, induced them to compensate by emphasizing the intangible benefits of the spiritual life and the value of developing individual talents. When the Mormon pitted his talents against the non-Mormon in the world of work and in outside schools, he was driven by the desire to compensate in success for his lack of material wealth and his low social status in outside groups.

Training in leadership. The Mormon church has traditionally operated without a specially trained and paid clergy. Only a few church positions offer remuneration for services performed. Lay members are required to administrate the various church organizations as well as to participate in programs and give the sermons.

The services of young people as officers in church organizations and as participants in programs are especially sought. The Mutual Improvement Association, organized within the church, was designed for the training of youth. Each year this organization sponsors friendly competition in speech, drama, dancing, music, etc.; and in past years in some

¹³ S. S. Visher, "A Study of the Type of the Place of Birth and of Occupation of Fathers of Subjects of Sketches in Who's Who in America," American Journal of Sociology, 30:551-57, March, 1925.

small towns virtually every active young church member has participated in one or several of these activities.

Family solidarity. The unusual church doctrine of "marriage for eternity" has helped Mormons to achieve stable family life. 14 When a Mormon marries he selects a spouse for the future life as well as for the present. He believes that the family continues and grows in the next existence, and he is helped over family difficulties by an assurance that in the next world marital happiness will be many times greater than it is now. This belief tends to augment a cooperative obligatory attitude among family members, which provides aid and incentive toward accomplishment, as well as security for the child in early formative years.

The present study points to a convergence of evidence suggesting the probability that the combination of the foregoing unusual aspects of the Utah social and cultural environment has provided stimuli favorable to the development of attitudes within the individual which make for achievement and eminence. This evidence is suggestive, only, but may be of value in providing hypotheses for future research.

¹⁴ See R. A. West, "The Mormon Village Family," Sociology and Social Research, 23:353-59, March, 1939; and Nels Anderson, "The Mormon Family," American Sociological Review, 2:601-08, October, 1937.

THE INFLUENCE OF NURSERY LITERATURE ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

• Theory and research have indicated clearly that many of the attitudes, values, and behavior patterns of a person have their source in early family interaction. Parents often assume that they can guide or determine the development of their offspring through verbal commands and instructions. We are learning only gradually, however, through case histories of abnormal behavior, intercultural comparisons of personality development, and detailed observation of the free play of children, some of the specific processes through which an individual acquires his responses to the common stimuli of his environment.¹ As we learn something of these processes, it becomes increasingly important to determine whether they can be synthesized and carried out on a symbolic level.

The writer explored this question through the use of "tailor-made" stories in rearing the older of his two preschool children. Some results were achieved in modifying her behavior, but this success may have been associated with the fact that she is a highly imaginative and verbal child who responds readily to suggestion. From this single experiment, conducted over the course of two years, came an awareness of some of the defects of our common nursery literature and a working definition of the ways in which stories can assist with the socialization of a child. This material is outlined below in the hope that it will arouse interest of students in systematic research of such questions as the types of personalities that can be influenced, the conditions that are most conducive to desired changes in behavior, and the stimuli that are appropriate in producing specified results.

WEAKNESSES OF POPULAR NURSERY TALES

One harmful aspect of many of the current books is their portrayal of an unreal world in which events are arbitrary, capricious, strange, abnormal, or in other ways highly fanciful. The most common fantasies are those of fairies, princes, witches, and animals with human attributes. The child, usually eager to learn, accepts these tales as an accurate description

¹ See for example: William Healy and Augusta Bronner, New Lights on Delinquency and Its Treatment (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936); Ben Karpman, Five Case Studies in the Psychopathology of Crime, 1933; Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (New York: W. W. Morrow & Co., 1935); Gardner Murphy, Lois B. Murphy, and Theodore Newcomb, Experimental Social Psychology, Part II (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937).

of his environment. Since relearning is gradual, complicated, and beyond the child's ability to analyze and describe, parents usually do not see the deleterious effects produced by these stories. If the possibilities of frustration, emotional disturbance, and twisted learning habits are not evident, it should be clear, at least, that fantasy does not help the child get on with his absorbing problem of growing up by finding out what is expected of him, what to expect from others, and how to manipulate his material culture.

A rationalization of the use of fantasy is that it is necessary for the development of the child's imagination. The identification of imagination with fantasy is an error. The essence of imagination is not the strange, unknown, supernatural, abnormal, or unreal, but the formation of mental images of objects not present to the senses. It can be as truly stimulated in stories of routine activities of adults—shopping for groceries, planting flowers and vegetables, and bus and streetcar travel—as it can be in tales of kings, queens, and their retinue. Once this truth is fully recognized, there will be a greater disposition to junk the medieval trash that has been handed down to us and accepted without question.

A second undesirable feature of nursery books is the high potential of fear which some of them contain. Red Ridinghood narrowly escapes from the wolf; Hansel and Gretel are almost baked and eaten by a horrible witch; Little Black Sambo must part with his new clothes in order to outsmart the numerous tigers who look upon him as an appetizing meal; and the Fox in Chicken Little tricks his companions into a den where they are disposed of, one by one. The psychology behind such stories is probably that interest and excitement may best be aroused by conflict, narrow escapes, and tragic events. The assumption that young children are as bored as adults and need sensationalism to escape from painful reality is projection of the worst kind. Unfortunately, the emotional upsets and false conditioning produced by such stories are noted only by parents whose children are easily thrown off balance and give patent signals of distress.

A third criticism that can be leveled at nursery books is that too many of them have animals as their principal characters. Three fourths of the books on sale in a Washington, D.C., store were of this kind. Many of these animal books should be rejected because of the elements of fear and fantasy which they contain. But even if there were not these objectionable features, there would remain the fact of overwhelming attention given to a relatively minor part of the child's environment. This heavy emphasis may have arisen either because animals furnish a convenient subject through which to avoid treatment of the commonplace aspects of life or because some parents believe that animal stories are charming,

wholesome, and instructive. If there were a grain of truth in the latter view, one can say, at least, that it has been so grossly overworked as to produce the same kind of distortion of reality to which fantasy leads. Some young children known to the writer have animals as frequent imaginary companions, seeing them in almost every corner and interacting with them in many and devious ways. The parents of these children have some difficulty in telling a satisfactory story that does not include animal characters or in giving a satisfactory explanation of animal life that does not square with the attributes that are common in nursery tales. Although this situation may be an extreme one, it suggests the minor dislocations of learning that many children suffer from such literature.

The basic defect of nursery literature, however, is its overlooking the great influence it has on child development. As a result, objectionable patterns of control escape detection, no matter how flagrant they may be, and approved patterns are seldom provided. Although there are some good books on the market and they are occasionally recognized as such, parents, in the absence of well-formulated criteria by which to judge, usually mix the good with the bad, and thus lose the desirable effects that might be achieved.

NURSERY LITERATURE AS AN AID IN SOCIALIZATION

What, then, are good patterns of control and how can parents select books which are consistent with them? A partial answer to this question will be given by stating a general principle of control, by discussing several ways in which it can be attained in nursery literature, and by offering a few criteria that may help identify those books that are in accord with it. The treatment of the subject will be neither exhaustive nor polished, but may suggest, nevertheless, the broad outlines of the subject and may indicate the direction along which further study can best proceed. An understanding of the main ideas may enable parents to recognize dangerous material when they see it and to select only those books that help forward the social growth of their children. From what has been written so far, the reader should realize that books which meet this test are not ipso facto painful to the child and do not prevent his experiencing some of the joys of babyhood. Quite the contrary may be the case.

Our general principle is that nursery books should be geared with the important processes of the child's development. Stories should, at best, help the child understand his culture and his role therein, and should, at worst, not retard or obstruct his socialization. Ideally, each child should have stories that fit the mental and social growth he has reached, that pertain to the type of general role he may be expected to fulfill, and

that help ameliorate his special problems. Social psychology and clinical diagnosis are far from being able to furnish the data and the guidance to make this ideal remotely possible. Furthermore, there is too much social mobility and Horatio Alger ambition for parents to accept specific role training for young children. But some differentiation of nursery stories has already taken place, and further categories will probably be distinguished as the demand of parents becomes more discriminating. As differentiation increases along sex, age, residence, income, occupational, and personality lines, parents will be able to select books that will come closer and closer to meeting the particular needs of their children. While the desirable limits to this kind of orientation or training are not known, it is anticipated that they will fall far short of the *Brave New World*. The solution to the aimless or baneful conditioning that is now prevalent is not the other extreme portrayed in Huxley's satire.

Some of the significant general ways in which nursery stories can assist in the socialization of the child are discussed below:²

1. They can provide models of the proper role to follow in daily activities and on special occasions. A story, for example, might begin with the awakening of the hero or heroine in the morning. Then the child could be described as dressing in suitable clothes for the events of the day: as eating a breakfast of juice, egg, rereal, toast, and milk; as requesting to go to the toilet before leaving the house; and as making other preparations for the adventure that had been scheduled. This adventure might be a morning of play in the nursery school, a shopping expedition downtown for toys, a picnic in the country with friends or relatives, or whatever else might be appropriate to the culture of the family. If the tale was well written with many concrete details, illustrated with good pictures, and related in an interesting manner, the child probably would have great interest in everything done by the hero. Identification with him would fix images in the mind of the child that he would try to follow in his own behavior. The subtlety of this process of imitation should not be overlooked. An actual case may bring out more clearly how effective this mechanism may be in obtaining desired responses. A girl of three years resisted parental attempts to dress her in overalls. She insisted on wearing one of her dresses and occasionally would struggle semihysterically against other garb. Finally, it dawned on the parents that all pictures of little girls in the books read to her showed them attired in dresses. New stories were substituted of a heroine who on getting up in the morning always put on a green, red, blue, or brown pair of over-

² This section is consistent with the theories of George H. Meade and with the research of such students as Dorothy Thomas, Marjorie Walker, and Florence Goodenough.

alls; who went with her mother to shop for new overalls; and who assisted in their washing and repair. In a short time resistance to the wearing of overalls had decreased markedly, and within three or four months there were signs that the conditioning had achieved its purpose and had better be discontinued before it swung the child in the opposite direction of wanting only overalls.

- 2. They can prepare the child for sudden changes in role or new demands upon him that might otherwise lead to traumatic experiences. A northern Negro school teacher is reported to have had considerable success in softening the shock of race prejudice and discrimination upon his children through the use of original stories that he began telling them at an early age and before they had had encounters with white hostility. The fictitious Negro children who were the principal characters in these stories went through a series of incidents of the kind that the father thought his children would have to experience. He gradually accustomed them to the role which they would have to play in racial relations and was able to demonstrate techniques that could be used to avoid or lessen the abuse that might befall them. The children eventually became familiar with these techniques and rehearsed them in play with dolls. When later on through increased community participation they encountered racial antagonism, they were not disturbed greatly and were able to adjust to it more skillfully than neighboring children who had not had such careful training.
- 3. They can acquaint the child with the roles of other persons who live or work in the community through simplified, concrete, and repetitious accounts of their usual activities. Separate stories might be devoted to the routine of a gasoline station attendant, a grocery clerk, a bus conductor, a mailman, a truck driver, and members of other occupational groups. The telling of these stories might be supplemented through actual observation of these people on the job. When the child has a good idea of what they do, he might be encouraged to imitate their activities in imaginary play with toys or in organized play with other children. It is not uncommon for older children to engage in this type of play independently of any suggestion or guidance from adults. Through nursery stories of the kind mentioned above followed by stimulated play, the process might be facilitated, widened in scope, and made of richer texture.
- 4. They can assist indirectly in the solution of minor behavior problems that do not yield to more direct methods of control. This method was used to allay in a three-year-old the fear of nurses and doctors that had been excited by a series of painful experiences, including nine separate injections for immunization. When coaxing, bribing, and threatening failed

to lessen the child's resistance to medical attention, all further attempts at persuasion and coercion were dropped. Several weeks later, stories of visits of a favorite hero to the doctor's office were introduced into the nightly reading periods of the child. The hero was described as undergoing a number of routine examinations. He was weighed, his heart was listened to with a special telephone, his tongue was held down with a wooden stick so his tonsils could be seen, his ears were cleaned, and his feet were photographed to determine the kind of shoes he should wear. A second series of stories had the doctor as a hero, describing his calls upon families in different parts of the city. Three or four weeks of this conditioning led the child to ask questions about the doctor and to insist that familiar stories about him be repeated. Subsequently, when downtown with the child on a shopping expedition, the mother casually took him into the doctor's office for a checkup without a protest being made. Although the change in attitude could not be attributed entirely to the stories, they appeared to have had some influence on the outcome.

Conclusion

The average parent, of course, cannot be expected to devise stories for every occasion and to take into account other variables that might be operating in a particular situation. The average child, furthermore, cannot be expected to respond immediately, fully, and directly to this type of control. The illustrations should suggest, nevertheless, the potentialities of literature as an instrument of control and should indicate that parents cannot assume that nursery tales are delightful, but innocuous means of entertainment.

How, then, should parents select nursery books, taking into account the limited stock of desirable books, the complicated processes of child development, and the lack of clinical guidance in dealing with individual problems? Use of the following criteria would probably protect the children from pernicious stories and lead to the selection of those which will help their development:

- 1. Stories should be pertinent to the child's culture, particularly to the commonplace activities of his family and community.
- 2. They should describe people and objects in a realistic or natural manner.
- 3. They should be written in a clear and simple style, should be well illustrated, and should have a wealth of concrete detail.
- 4. A wide variety of subjects should be included in the family stock of books to avoid narrowness of viewpoint and undue concentration upon any one aspect of the child's environment.

PRIMARY GROUP RELATIONSHIPS IN MODERN SOCIETY

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• In sociological literature the social roles of primary and secondary groups are often treated as exclusive categories. The former are generally identified with isolated areas; the latter are held to characterize urban association. The primary group is regarded as the most efficient medium for transmitting attitudes, and social disorganization is said to appear concomitantly with the breakdown of primary forms of communication. This dichotomic tendency may stem from preoccupation with the form and structure of social groupings. When attention is focused on their functional aspect, i.e., the psychosocial interaction of their members, the relative nature of primary group relationships begins to appear. Then we no longer characterize all social groups as exclusively primary or secondary, but interest ourselves in the degree to which they express either quality.

In his classic description of primary groups, Charles H. Cooley stressed intimacy, face-to-face association, the spirit of unity and group loyalty. A later analysis by Faris emphasized the emotional factors essential to group solidarity. These and other treatises opened new doors toward a clearer understanding of the social-psychological processes in personality development and social control as they operate in small, intimate groups.

It is doubtful whether many, if any, primary groups in urban society function with the inclusiveness and compulsion that mark the primitive or small rural community. Perhaps the best that can be said is that the urban dweller has a set of personal contacts of varying degrees of intimacy in a large number of differentiated groups. At one end of the scale may be found the family and children's play groups and gangs; at the other end the corporate, highly specialized civic organizations. But in even the most formalized groupings there is always present a greater or less degree of informal association among the members.

The intent of this paper is to present some examples of primary group relationships as they are revealed in various types of social aggregates, and to indicate the implication of such relationships to major problems of social control. The types chosen are the family, neighborhood groups,

¹ Charles H. Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), Chaps. III-IV.

² Ellsworth Faris, "The Primary Group: Essence and Accident," American Journal of Sociology, 38:41-50, July, 1932.

informal gatherings, organized groups including both independent and institutional types, and individual relationships. This list is not an attempt to classify or catalogue groups. It is only an arbitrary selection of types of human association illustrating interaction on the primary group level.

In spite of postwar tensions, expressed in terms of marital instability, the family is still recognized as the basic primary group. Although it has lost in size and efficiency as an agency of community control, it has gained in number of units and probably affection among its members.3 Here emotions find expression, and attitudes are born which come to be registered in organized society through the overt behavior of family members. Although social mores are largely rooted in the home, the attitudes and behavior patterns of every family are by no means acceptable to all groups in a heterogeneous society. The family receives, interprets, and transmits the social values of that functional or spatial sector of society of which it is a part. In working-class homes, naturally, views take shape favorable to labor, whereas business and professional parents inculcate in their children the mores of their class. As much can be said of families representing religious, ethnic, and other large cultural bodies. This is not to assume that all social attitudes generate at the fireside. But its importance as a medium through which primary group relationships influence children's attitudes and behavior is commonly recognized, as may be suggested by the dictum often heard at lay-group meetings studying juvenile delinquency, "We've got to start with the home."

The studies of McClenahan and others show that urbanization has weakened the neighborhood as an agency of social control. Personal contacts have come to rest on function rather than propinquity. This is more true for adults than for children. The neighborhood is the natural area for childhood association. What passer-by has failed to notice groups of little tots riding tricycles up and down the sidewalk in front of their homes, older children playing hide-and-seek around houses and garages, while boys play ball in the street or on the nearest vacant lot? Bossard even found choice of mates in Philadelphia to be noticeably correlated with spatial nearness. However, it is in the boys' gang that writers have been especially interested. In the field of fiction, for instance, James

³ J. K. Folsom, The Family and Democratic Society (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1943), pp. 191, 350.

⁴ Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1929).

⁵ J. H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," American Journal of Sociology, 38:219-24, September, 1932.

Farrell has made a valuable sociological contribution in his vivid portrayal of a gang of Irish Catholic Youth from a deteriorating neighborhood in Chicago.⁶ Thrasher's well-known study depicts boys' gangs as primary groups, the products of natural areas. They express all the elements of primary controls: group loyalty and intragroup honor, mutual kindness, group opinion, ridicule, violence, and the assurance of status and emotional security to their members.⁷ In fact, it is the existence of such powerful primary controls that makes gangs so unamenable to public authority.

The third large source of primary relationships is found in informal groups, such as card parties, picnics, socials, informal dances, and visits of friends and relatives. The list could be extended indefinitely. These get-togethers include, in various degrees, such expressions of intimacy as calling each other by the first name, discussion of family affairs, gossip, exchange of confidences, willingness to express personal attitudes about such topics as labor, politics, religion, race relations, and many other subjects, aspects of which are more or less controversial. Every day in every year, scores of millions of people are fraternizing in these small coteries of friends. If a quantitative study could be made of this type of social interaction, it would undoubtedly reveal that here is generated, or at least colored, a sizable amount of public opinion.

Association on both the primary and secondary group levels occurs in organized groups. To the extent that the organization is governed by a stated purpose and rules, e.g., constitution and by-laws, with formal machinery and procedures, it may be viewed as a secondary group. Its subjective elements—the warm, close fellowship of its members, their common loyalty to the organization, and a devotion impelling each to subordinate his own to group interests—convey to the association its primary group character. The total number of people in this country belonging to organizations is not known, but it probably reaches into the tens of millions and touches the majority of homes in the United States. A familiar observation by students of American life is the multitude of citizens popularly dubbed "joiners." This joining tendency is well revealed in the enormous membership of fraternal orders, college fraternities and sororities, and civic clubs, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and countless other similar organizations. The inculcation of group

⁶ James T. Farrell, Studs Lonigan: a Trilogy (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1935).

⁷ Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

ideals in their members in an atmosphere of brotherhood is among the principal aims of these bodies. There is no doubt that their ideals, a curious blend of group ethnocentrism and social idealism, play a definite role in shaping the thought and behavior of a large segment of the American public. In a fascinating study of these organizations Charles Ferguson observes:

... our clubs and lodges, even in their singular variety and exuberance, are but a perfectly natural expression of American life. . . Through their mysteries and ceremonies we progress literally by degrees to an understanding of the motives that lay hold upon men in group behavior. . . We may observe the alignments of men one by one, but we must not lose sight of the fact that, taken together, they make the mass, the flesh and blood of a nation.8

Primary group relationships find wide expression in another kind of organized group, namely, the specialized divisions of institutions. At least in a democratic society, institutional objectives can be achieved only through a certain amount of functional decentralization, necessitating organized groups whose members are associated in various degrees or familiarity. Only a small percentage of the attendants at the Sunday morning service of a large city church may be personally acquainted. The real fellowship is found in the "circles," the missionary society, the small Sunday School classes, and young people's organizations. This same democratic pattern may be observed in schools, business firms, lawmaking bodies, and countless other large-scale associations. It is in the small club, the committee, the discussion group that people come to know each other. And probably for this reason members feel freer to express their ideas, attitudes, and prejudices. There is little doubt that the policies of democratic institutions are in no small measure influenced by the ideas and opinions of members, formed in their activity groups.

Probably as many close personal contacts result from people's association on an individual as on a group basis. Businessmen's attitudes toward governmental policies are shaped largely through conversation with fellow business men on the street, across the lunch table, over a glass of beer, at the club, or at each other's homes. Resolutions passed at the Chamber of Commerce, or letters sent to congressmen, are little more than formal expressions of informal discussions. Students of government know that the real genesis of laws is not on the floor of Congress or state legislatures, but in direct contacts with influential constituents and friends. And the manner in which laws are enforced and administration is actually carried out is determined in no small degree by informal

⁸ Charles W. Ferguson, Fifty Million Brothers (New York: Farrar and Rine-hart, Inc., 1937), p. 15.

factors. One writer observes that this process was well illustrated in the army during the war, where the informal group generally carried out directives according to its own interpretation and customs of doing things.⁹ In the realm of city administration the utilization of primary group relationships is an old practice. While sociologists were despairing over the disintegration of primary group controls in the great metropolis, politicians were busy organizing the city, sending out ward bosses and leaders into the precincts, making friendly contacts with the people, doing them personal favors, and winning their votes.

The fundamental character of this tendency for individuals to seek sympathetic companionship has wide recognition in treatises dealing with social theory. Cooley held it to be deeply rooted in human nature. ¹⁰ MacIver contends that "large-scale associations cannot fulfill the role of primary groups." He adds:

... The latter renders one essential service which the former can never satisfy—the satisfaction of the primal need for society itself. This satisfaction demands the personal participative union, within which no matter what other services it may render, the deeply embedded need of man for the sustaining presence of his fellows is liberated and fulfilled.¹¹

There is no doubt that the primary group, as exemplified by the isolated rural neighborhood with which its members were exclusively identified, has broken down under the impact of urbanization. In its place has arisen a multitude of groups representing the various interests of life—familial, economic, political, religious, recreational, cultural — which, aside from their formal purposes, fulfill many of the psychosocial functions of the primary group. They meet the individual's need for companionship; they help give him social status; in them he may find emotional release and security from the impersonal world about him. As pointed out above, probably a significant share of his behavior stems directly or indirectly from the attitudes, social or antisocial, assimilated in informal groups. Thus, from the foregoing standpoint, informal personal association underlies the utilitarian and contractual character of modern life.

This fact has important implications for social control and research. Perhaps the roots of social disorganization in great population centers lie not altogether in the substitution of secondary for primary controls, but also in the attitudes emanating from the vast number and heterogeneous character of social groups, functioning in differentiated environments and

⁹ Anonymous, "Informal Social Organization in the Army," American Journal of Sociology, 51:365-70, March, 1946.

¹⁰ Cooley, loc. cit.
¹¹ Robert M. MacIver, Society (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937),
p. 251.

often motivated by conflicting sets of values. If we can accept the premises that social problems rest on attitudes and attitudes are shaped largely in informal association, then one of the main approaches to social problems must be through the primary group. Experience has proved the fallacy of relying upon secondary group processes, i.e., laws, unsupported by the social mores. The task of dealing with disorganization calls for a vast amount of social research on the primary level. We need to know more about the social and psychological processes governing the formation and dissemination of attitudes. As this knowledge is acquired it must be incorporated into education and social planning. Our institutions can function successfully only as we come to understand the primary group bases on which they rest.

PRICE CONTROL AND SOCIAL CONTROL*

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• Price control is a form of social control, put into operation by the members of a society in order to protect the many from being taken advantage of by a few. It is designed to safeguard the rank and file from being subjected to unnecessary living costs.

Price control involves what the economist calls the theory of prices, the law of supply and demand, subsidies to producers, the profit system, free enterprise. A full discussion of price control would require an intensive understanding of many economic principles. This paper recognizes the role that these principles play but will center its attention on some of the social control aspects of the problem.

First of all, price control implies that needed articles are scanty, that demands are strong, that some people who want these articles have plenty of money and are willing to pay exorbitant prices, and that many persons who are in need cannot afford to pay unfair prices and hence must go without some of the necessities of life. It also implies that among the producers and manufacturers of the needed articles are persons who, for the sake of extraordinary profits, are willing to take advantage of their fellow men—placing prices far above intrinsic values and money above the welfare of men and women. Such persons are willing to take advantage of free enterprise and the individual liberty accorded them in a democracy to the extent that their fellow citizens who cannot afford to pay are deprived of basic necessities.

In the next place, price control implies that the pecuniarily minded cannot be appealed to successfully in terms of their patriotism, interest in human welfare, commendable citizenship, sense of justice, defense of free enterprise, or respect of their neighbors. Hence, the strong arm of government must be invoked to restrain their profit-seeking designs. Thus, price control is a way of defending the public generally against the enemies of free enterprise who call themselves its friends but who take advantage of freedom to profit unduly at the expense of their fellows.

Price control suggests that the moral standards of some individuals have broken down and that they are willing to take advantage of their less fortunate fellows for the sake of pecuniary gain. It suggests also the attempt of government in a democracy to prolong the free enterprise

^{*}This paper is complementary to an earlier paper, "Rationing and Social Control," Sociology and Social Research, 27:473-79, by the present writer.

system, instead of adopting government ownership. If some producers and manufacturers will persist in taking advantage of "free enterprise" to their own gain, they must expect social control to develop in terms of price control under democratic auspices, or lose free enterprise entirely and be at least partly responsible for bringing on totalitarianism. Price control aims to keep prices for needed articles within the means of most people.

It should be noted that needed articles may be scarce for more than one reason. Sometimes they are not produced or manufactured. Sometimes they are plentiful but held off the market by their owners. The latter may engage in a "strike" against the public, a kind of "lay down" strike, and hold plentiful materials from the market in order to force prices up or to put price control out of business.

Price control is sometimes necessary because a society has become large. With size, democratic institutions in all fields have difficulty in maintaining the active interest of all their members. As this interest lags, it is necessary to supplement individual self-controls by social controls through the enactment of laws.

Price control is called into being because it is difficult to get consumers to organize in behalf of their own interests. Nearly every large group in the United States, except the consumers as such, has a powerful lobby in Washington and many of these groups exert tremendous pressure on the Congress. But consumers are organized poorly or not at all; as a group they have a weak voice, and hence price controls by law seem to be necessary if their welfare is to be safeguarded.¹

Price control is commonly administered by people who have been trained along various lines but rarely in administering price controls. Moreover, they are not infallible. They make mistakes for the same reasons that other persons do, but their mistakes are pounced upon by an unsympathetic press and by antagonistic producers. These errors are grossly magnified before an unsuspecting and gullible public.

Although the price control employees in the United States at one time numbered over 31,000, this force was not large enough to cope with the total problem.² In a typical district of the OPA there were 20,000 sellers who needed to be instructed, persuaded, warned, and, in case of willful violators, indicted and punished.³ Not only is the size of the task gigantic,

¹ M. Darrock, "What Happened to Price Control? OPA Versus the Inflation Tide," Harper's, 187:115, July, 1943.

² C. E. Warne, "Should Price Control Be Retained?" Current History, 10:496, June, 1946.

³ Estal Sparling, "Possible Significance of OPA Price Panels," Social Forces, 24:220, December, 1945.

but there are deeper questions that are baffling. For example, what shall be the coverage of control? Or what shall be the standards of control? Such problems are exceedingly difficult to handle by persons unversed in a knowledge of social processes and economic theory and untrained in the principles of the social psychology of human relations.

Price control representatives are handicapped because no standard set of rules and regulations has been developed as guideposts. The lessons of price control experience have not been codified. Experimentation is by necessity the rule. The situations involved in price control are so varied and so changing that considerable leeway must be given its administrators. The latter are repeatedly forced to rely on their own ingenuity or guesswork.

Price control in the United States in 1942 had violent enemies before it got under way because of its "New Dealish appearance." Everyone who opposed the New Deal jumped to the acceptance of an unfavorable stereotype of price control. The latter has had to contend with the charges of being "communistic," "directed from Moscow," "boondoggling." 6

Price control officials have not all used tact or been willing to move evolutionarily. Some have been plain stupid; others have not sought cooperation, but acted belligerently. Some have carried out their duties cockily and failed to consult the trade associations whose business they would regulate. "More than once a small merchant was descended upon by a crew of investigators when his sole offense had been that of failing to post certain prices. He was then hailed into a Federal court in a distant city to face an elaborate array of legal talent from the far-off district, regional, or Washington office."

Price control in the United States has had to seek acceptance by many people who are highly individualistic. Millions have leaped to the conclusion that all their own personal freedom was about to be taken from them as soon as price control was proposed. No person with any spark of individuality in him wants price control. Yet such a person must recognize the need if the welfare of the many is to be protected against the machinations of an unscrupulous and willful few.

Fairness in setting price ceilings is hard to attain and harder to maintain, for costs of production are continually fluctuating. Wages rise and

⁴ Clair Wilcox, "Price Control Policy in the Postwar Transition," American Economic Review, 35:163 ff., May, 1945.

⁵ Sparling, loc. cit.

⁶ M. Darrock, loc. cit.

⁷ Sparling, loc. cit.

fall. Raw materials vary in price from time to time. Demand for consumer goods shifts overnight. The pressure represented by people having an estimated 150 billions of dollars (in 1946 in the United States) to spend is tremendous. A veteran writes: "As a consumer I want reasonable prices, but at the same time I do want suits, houses, and cars! What a tough situation for the consumer."

Price control must always face inevitable and basic social changes. To claim that, since at one time there were no price controls in the United States, there should never be any again is to deny social developments. The individual whose ancestors were laws unto themselves in 1847 can expect no such privileges in 1947 in view of all the complications of modern economic and social conditions.

Another problem arises from the fact that the opponents of price control resort to extreme methods to defeat it. After World War II some manufacturers and middlemen decided to turn public opinion against price controls. They utilized propaganda in subtle ways, and they magnified all the errors and faults of price control administrators. They even went on "strike" and refused to release piled-up goods in warehouses. They paralleled the workers' refusal to work unless they received higher wages by refusing to sell to the public needed articles such as meat unless the OPA legislation was revoked and they could set higher prices. In both the cases of the workers' strike and the manufacturers' strike the consumers were the chief sufferers.

In the manufacturers' strike one aim was to hold needed goods off the market long enough so that the public would become angrily aroused. Moreover, the "strike" was accompanied by propaganda directed in such a way that the blame would be shifted from the manufacturers to the OPA, and thus influence the public against the latter. However, in England many people have been quick to recognize the producers' strike for what it is, and "when an association of private traders attempts to hold up the bread of the community if they cannot dictate to the day the terms upon which it is to be sold, the inference is clear."9

Another complication is that a price ceiling on one item may lead the producer to drop the manufacture of that article and to produce another where no ceiling operates and where the general need may be less. When a ceiling is placed on this article then production shifts again, and thus a merry-go-round develops. For example, when a ceiling is placed on lumber for houses, then timber may be diverted into lumber for furniture where the need is secondary.¹⁰

⁸ Letter from E.C.M.

⁹ The Cooperative Productive Review, 20:121, July, 1946. 10 "What Price Price Control?" Fortune, 33:100, May, 1946.

If the raising of ceilings in one connection makes necessary similar action in other fields then the vicious circle leads to raising prices all around. But it is claimed that even so price control has served a worth-while purpose. It has prevented wildcat speculation. It has kept inflation from coming overnight and from taking people unawares. It has given leaders a chance to anticipate some of the evils of price inflation.

Then there is the determination of just price controls. Shall prices be raised whenever costs of production and distribution are increased? "Shall prices escalate with costs?" Shall prices be raised to enable the seller to make his usual profits? The OPA in the United States has "never guaranteed manufacturers or distributors profit on each item." The OPA would have had special difficulty if it had undertaken to keep "margins" or profits at a continuously satisfactory level for all producers.

Closely involved is the relation of prices to production. In wartime the function of price control is to "allow only prices that will stimulate production of the most essential civilian products." But in time of peace it is not usual that such limitations are acceptable. However, the underlying fact remains that price levels stimulate or retard production of goods under the prevailing economic system and determine to a degree what goods will be produced.

Price control is blamed for black markets and for the lowering of moral standards that accompanies black markets. One opponent of the OPA reveals his attitudes by saying, "It makes no sense whatever to wait around for another depression before getting rid of the damned thing." But the friends of price control reply that it is human selfishness which causes people to violate price controls, create black markets, and flaunt human justice. Thus, it is argued that the breakdown of the moral standards of people is not due to price control, but that it has already occurred before price controls become law.

The blackness of the black market and its relation to price control have been directly and vividly described recently (July, 1946) by Leon Henderson, the first administrator of the OPA. Despite the dark reflections cast by the black market upon citizens of the United States, Mr. Henderson concludes that price control is necessary not only during war but during reconversion. It is a legal substitute for the failure of self-discipline and self-control. Those who persist in violating price controls, both seller and buyer, "are undermining our national welfare." 14

11 Warne, loc. cit.

¹² Donald H. Wallace, "Price Control and Rationing in the Wartime Transition," American Economic Review, 35:154, May, 1945.

^{13 &}quot;What Price Price Control?" op. cis., p. 229.
14 Leon Henderson, "How Black Is Our Market?" Atlantic Monthly, 178:52,
July, 1946.

Although it is to be hoped that price controls are temporary forms of social control, yet there is an increasing number of persons who contend that, as our national social structure becomes more and more complicated and as morals and self-discipline of more and more people go to pieces, price control may become a continual necessity in order to protect the weak against the strong and the honest against the unscrupulous.

Another complication is that involved in granting subsidies. If prices are to be kept down for the consumer and costs to the producer go up and his insistence on profits continues, then payment of subsidies is a way out. Price control also bears a direct relation to wage increases. When costs go up and profits go down, production also goes down, unemployment increases, and unrest develops—according to the American economic pattern. To meet this situation vast subsidies have been paid by governments, and in consequence taxes have been increased. There is a definite cost-profits-price relationship¹⁵ that must be comprehended before one can be sure that he understands what is involved in "price control."

Price control in one country is affected by price control or the lack of it in another country. For example, during the war Canada "had to subsidize certain imported products so that rising prices in other countries should not jeopardize her own stabilization." Thus, the price control organization subsidized Canadian importers so that the latter could sell their goods under the ceiling.

An efficient price control policy calls for an adequate rationing policy. 18 If it is not accompanied by rationing, "the inevitable result is that the supplier holds life and death power over distribution." 19 "The groceryman with a limited supply of butter serves his old customers first, or maybe just the customer he likes best that morning. The dealer with a limited supply of Chevrolets dispenses them at his own good pleasure." His judgment perhaps is not "unaffected by a liberal tip or a case of whiskey." 20

Price control cannot succeed unless it is accompanied not only by rationing but by a comprehensive economic program. Shortly after the Congress passed the Emergency Price Control Act, which was signed by President Roosevelt in January, 1942, the President said, "Price control

19 "What Price Price Control?" loc. cit.

17 Loc. cit.

¹⁵ Wilcox, loc. cit.

¹⁶ Alzada Comstock, "Canadian Price Control," Current History, 5:45 ff., September, 1943.

¹⁸ E. S. Bogardus, "Rationing and Social Control," Sociology and Social Research, 27:472, July-August, 1943.

²⁰ Loc. cit.

legislation cannot successfully combat inflation. To do that, an adequate tax and fiscal program, a broad savings program, a sound production program, and an effective priorities and rationing program are all needed. Finally, all bulwarks against inflation must fail unless all of us—the business man, the workers, the farmer, and the consumer—are determined to make those bulwarks hold fast."²¹ Leon Henderson, when price administrator, summed up the matter, "The President's program against inflation will succeed only as its every element is made effective."²²

Too much is often expected of price control. It "can hold a runaway inflation in check," but it "cannot cure the disease." The cure may be found in broader moral standards, a national or a human welfare motivation, a taxation and savings program that will suck off surplus funds," restriction of credit, increased production for use rather than for profits—these and other procedures have been strongly urged.

Many farmers are convinced that in order to beat price inflation there is but one procedure. Price control will not suffice. Their slogan is "produce abundantly" and prices will be held down.²⁴ This proposal is part of the solution, but it deals with only one phase of a complicated situation.

Canada has set a fine example in one way at least. Her price control administration during the war carried on an extensive educational campaign as an accompaniment to regulating prices. Instead of allowing people (as in the United States) to have only "a general and fuzzy idea" about price control and the dangers of inflation, Canada presented price control as "a cooperative undertaking," seeking "to release every impulse to voluntary compliance, resorting to rigid control of retail transactions only in extreme cases." In this way progress was made in mobilizing "the national spirit behind the entire scheme of emergency war controls." Why could not something like this be developed in peacetime too?

In the United States the price panels instituted by the OPA achieved much. Over 5,000 price panels were organized; the aim was to have one each for the 5,500 war price and rationing boards. Three or more local citizens served voluntarily upon these price panels. Allowing for turnover

²¹ Quoted by M. Darrock, op. cit., p. 117.

²² Ibid., p. 119.

^{23 &}quot;What Price Price Control?" op. cit., p. 101.

²⁴ Whitney Tharin, "Whither Washington?" Pennsylvania Co-op Review, 13:3, July, 1946.

²⁵ Lawrence Sullivan, "How Canada Controls Prices," Nation's Business, 31:34, October, 1943.

²⁶ Loc. cit.

and for panel assistants, about 100,000 persons served on these panels during the war.²⁷

The members were appointed by the district OPA directors on recommendation of the chairman of the local boards. They straightened out misunderstandings and carried out programs of understanding. They helped "Mr. Smith with his prices," going to his store in a spirit of friendly cooperation. In other words, they illustrated democracy at work.²⁸ Sometimes the members had to give warnings and on the second offense of the willful violator summon him to appear before the price panel. In the main, they gave out information, reminded retailers of their duties, used persuasion, and applied "firm but sympathetic sanctions."²⁹ They stood out "in contrast to the rationing boards which are primarily legislative bodies, determining who shall have gas, food, tires." The motivations were (1) to bolster failing compliance and enforcement, (2) to open a channel for wider dissemination of price control information, and (3) to honestly make the administration of price control more democratic.³⁰

A substitute for price control is suggested by the participants in the cooperative consumer movement. Obviously, the members of a society in which production is for the use of the consumers, who are in control, do not unduly boost prices. In those areas where consumer cooperatives are in charge of production and distribution, black markets do not develop and no price controls by government fiat are called for. Consumers are not interested in inflationary activities, for they do not care to cheat themselves. They see to it, as far as their influence goes, that prices remain as low as is consistent with costs. Since profit-taking is not a part of consumers' cooperation (although everyone is paid reasonable wages and salaries for work actually done, and although reasonable interest is paid for money that is loaned), a major factor in creating inflated prices is ruled out.

The best forms of social control are those which train individuals in exercising control voluntarily through self-discipline, control from the individual citizens upward, and not from government downward by legislation or by fiat. As a society grows in size and complexity, some kind of social control is increasingly necessary; otherwise, through highly paid propaganda, advertising, lobbies, and "pressuring," a few well-

²⁷ C. W. Patton, "Price Panels-the Role of Schools," Southwest Social Science Quarterly, 25:295 ff., March, 1945.

²⁸ Loc. cit.

²⁹ Sparling, loc. cit.

³⁰ Loc. cit.

organized and shrewd persons can control the many to their own pecuniary gain.

The choice is between different kinds of control: (1) self-discipline by as many persons as possible, which will keep control by government at a minimum; (2) consumer control through cooperative organization of production, distribution, and finance; (3) government controls that tend toward bureaucratic organization; (4) totalitarian government control by autocratic administration. The first seems to be partly out of the question in a large society. The second has made a remarkable record wherever it has developed. The third has powerful opposition and serious weaknesses. The fourth is only a court of last resort and is the worst if judged by democratic standards.

SOCIAL THEORY

TIME FOR PLANNING: A Social-economic Theory and Program for the Twentieth Century. By Lewis L. Lorwin. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1945, pp. 273.

The Foreword of this book is written by M. H. Hedges, Director of Research, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The author, Dr. Lewis L. Lorwin, was the founder of the National Economic and Social Planning Association, now the National Planning Association. He has held many important posts which testify to his eminent qualifications to write this book. For ten years he was a member of the staff of the Brookings Institution; for four and a half years, economic adviser in the International Labor Office in Geneva; and an economic consultant to the National Resources Planning Board of the United States. He is known not only nationally but internationally as an important author in the fields of economics, social theory, and international relations.

This book contains seventeen chapters, all but three of which have appeared elsewhere. The period during which the articles were written covers fourteen years; however, the book is not just a collection of essays. As the author says, "it has inner unity" centering around the question: "How can democratic freedom, economic efficiency, and social welfare be welded together, under the new technical and intellectual conditions of the twentieth century, so as to do away with the two scourges—depressions and wars?" The answer offered is "rational social guidance of economic activity, that is, in a change from both *laissez faire* and private monopoly to national and international democratic planning."

Planning in a democracy is discussed in the light of defined democratic principles. The history of planning in the United States is traced from before 1917 (as far back as the Mayflower Compact and the Constitution) to necessary postwar plans. Planning in relation to labor and industrial relations is presented from both a national and an international point of view.

Dr. Lorwin proposes "A New 'Fourteen Points'" and "The Organization of a World New Deal." Six main institutions are suggested to operate independently to a considerable extent but cooperatively for "discussion, information, and advisory coordination." They should work closely with similar or corresponding agencies in the various countries. The six institutions, each of which has subsidiary organizations to aid in carrying out its respective functions, are an international relief and social assistance commission, a world economic development organization, an international colonial administration, a permanent peace conference, a world educational and recreational center, and a world assembly of nations to be held annually.

Attention is called to the emerging concept of the "social man activated by general social ideals and considerations." Dr. Lorwin believes that group cooperation is becoming more important than group conflict, though he concedes that there is "no prospect of a society without conflict." However, there is one alternative, the use of "rational action to limit the area of conflict, to devise methods for settling conflicts by compromise, and to extend the area of group cooperation." The new scientific theories with their emphasis upon "energism" have supplanted the "idea of materialist forces . . . by the concept of the energetics of reason and of creative imagination." The author concludes that planning "offers a method for the expansion of productive energy and a greater opportunity for a larger life." In the future, planning promises to be both more flexible and democratic in spite of its current centralization in some countries.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY 1946.
EDITED BY CARL E. DENT. Pullman, Washington: Research Studies of the
State College of Washington, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, June, 1946, pp. 59.

The content of this issue of Research Studies consists of nine papers, including the presidential address of Professor Ray E. Baber, which were presented at the annual meeting of the Society in 1946. The Proceedings are interesting for at least three reasons. The papers reveal a diversity of fields of investigation. Race relations receive greatest emphasis-five papers are devoted to some aspect of that social phenomenon. Professor Baber outlines five trends which he considers apparent at the present time in race relations or minority group action. Robert W. O'Brien presents contrasts in Canadian and American attitudes toward Japanese residents during the war period. Edwin M. Lemert and Judy Rosberg, in their paper, "Crime and Punishment among Minority Groups in Los Angeles County," attempt "to test the general relevance of a sociology of social control" to data of felony convictions in Los Angeles County. Charles B. Spaulding writes on the "Housing Problems of Minority Groups in Los Angeles County," and the fifth paper on race relations is by Talbert H. Kennedy, "Racial Tensions among Japanese in the Intermountain Northwest."

Social engineering is considered by Olaf F. Larsen in presenting the concept of the Federal "Rural Rehabilitation Program as an Instrument of Social Change." The other two papers deal with population movements. Calvin F. Schmid develops "Wartime Trends in the Population of the State of Washington," and H. Otto Dahlke treats of "Wartime Rural Migration, Specialty Crop Areas." All of these papers are suggestive of further investigation.

A second point of interest is the striking variance of approach by the several authors in the treatment of their subject matter. Methods range from that of almost pure speculation to the objectively quantitative.

Finally, there is, unfortunately (from the viewpoint of the reviewer who attended the meeting), no report of the thorough and constructive criticisms which were made of the papers at the time of presentation. In some instances the criticisms of method and inference were of value equal to that of the papers themselves. Publication of such critical analyses would be conducive to maintaining and raising standards of research.

Vandyce Hamren

A TRIAL ON TRIAL. The Great Sedition Trial of 1944. By MAXIMILIAN J. St. George and Laurence Dennis. Published by National Civil Rights Committee, 1946, pp. 503.

This book was not written to clear the defendants in the Sedition Trial, which became such a sensation during World War II, but to indict the prosecution. The book is about the Trial, not the defendants. The authors bluntly describe the trial as a farcical failure. It was not a normal trial, in their view, but a political trial conducted for purposes of psychological "identification" and association in the same manner as had been characteristic of the totalitarian countries. The idea behind the trial was, the authors claim, that of linking Nazism with isolationism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Communism. The issues of the Trial were thus dramatized by the government for political purposes. The avowed purpose of the authors is to protect free speech in this country and to criticize the use of American courts for political purposes. The authors were personally concerned with the trial—one as an attorney representing a defendant, the other as one of the defendants.

J.E.N.

EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONS. BY WAYNE L. McNaughton. Los Angeles: Golden State Publishers, 1946, pp. xiii+351.

This is the second edition of a 1944 book, revised somewhat in the light of the intervening political and labor events of two years. Originally based upon an earlier study by the author entitled "The Development of Labor Relations Law," it develops its subject matter weighted in the legal direction and carries eight appendices dealing with labor laws. The development of collective bargaining in its historical aspects is treated satisfactorily, and the significant trends in employer-employee relations are very well sketched. Most valuable from an analytical point of view are those chapters which discuss the weakening of the bargaining powers of employers and of employees. The book is intended for text use, and each chapter is provided with a good set of challenging questions for discussion.

M.J.V.

THE HUMAN FRONTIER. By ROGER J. WILLIAMS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946, pp. 314.

The author proposes that a "new" science, that of humanics (study of human nature), be developed for the purpose of improvement of social control through a greater understanding of individual human beings. This purpose is to be attained by utilizing all the available knowledge from highly specialized fields of inquiry such as anatomy, physiology, biochemistry, and psychology, and by coordinating and expanding research in these and related fields, to discover how each individual can best be educated, nourished, placed in suitable employment, adjusted in marriage, treated during illness, and assisted to function most efficiently in community life according to his own aptitudes and needs. Humanics as outlined is essentially psychology applied to problems of education, marriage, criminology, medicine, politics, employment, and international relations. Presumably, scientific knowledge of the principal characteristics, aptitudes, and abilities of a large enough number of individual persons is the key to the solution of major social problems.

Heredity is assumed to be more important than social, cultural, or environmental influences in producing differences between individuals and between races. Conspicuously absent from the work is any recognition of the role of social institutions and processes of social interaction in and between groups. The author almost completely ignores sociology. Though his discussion reveals a specialized point of view, Dr. Williams' recognition of the need for coordinated scientific research in the social sciences is noteworthy. In addition, as an outstanding biochemist, he has presented a wealth of valuable material on the effect of individual differences in metabolism, sense perception, physiological processes, and the endocrine glands upon the growth of character and personality.

J. WALTER COBB

THREE WORLDS. Liberal, Communist and Fascist Society. By N. S. TIM-ASHEFF. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1946, pp. xi+263.

Not one world but three is the stimulating theme of this volume. Whatever may be a desirable goal, the reality of the day discloses three more or less different worlds in conflict on our planet today. Apparently each is striving to become dominant.

The author gives a brief historical statement in which a liberal society slowly became more and more dominated by economic considerations and in consequence developed serious evils. To meet these evils two movements have developed—both totalitarian—one communist, the other fascist. Both are monopolistic and destructive of individual freedom. Both are governed by principles of economic determinism. Extensive

chapters are devoted to each of the three worlds: communist society, fascist society, and liberal society. In the last-mentioned connection a good word is spoken for the Tennessee Valley Authority as furthering the people's welfare through democratic means. The three societies are compared and the three-cornered struggle between them is described. The author concludes that either communism or fascism may become the final conquerer of Western civilization because the evils in liberal society have not yet been uprooted or cured. The conditions of the survival of liberal society are said to be efficiency, integration, justice. This is a scholarly, thought-provoking, nonemotional book, deserving to be read by all persons who are willing to face the truth objectively stated.

E.S.B.

MEDIEVAL ISLAM. A Study in Cultural Orientation. By Gustave E. von Grunebaum. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. viii+365.

This is a scholarly outline of the cultural orientation of the Muslim Middle Ages. It is the aim of the author to present the Medieval Muslim's view of himself and the universe as he finds it, the intellectual and emotional attitudes that influenced his works, and the mood in which he lived his life. The three political and cultural units of the Medieval world—Islam, Greek Christendom, and Latin Christendom—are appraised as contemporary civilizations, though the emphasis falls on the Muslim. Each of them served as the basis for cultural expansion. Political history and economics receive scant attention owing to the purpose of the author, though an interpretation of the social structure was deemed necessary.

The following subjects are stressed in this study: revelation and piety as fundamental in Islam, law and the state and the social order as aspects of the body politic, the dominant attitudes and ideals of Islam, the literature and history which reveal the development of Islam as a religious and cultural unit. The work as a whole is a valuable contribution to social thought and the history of civilization.

J.E.N.

SPOTLIGHT ON LABOR UNIONS. By WILLIAM J. SMITH, S.J. New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1946, pp. 150.

Father Smith, who is director of the Crown Heights Labor School and Associated Activities of Brooklyn, offers here a fundamentally sound defense of the labor union movement in the United States. His presentation is simple, yet forceful. The point of view, while entirely sympathetic to the workers, encompasses some of the transgressions of union leaders. His statement that "workers should not be compelled to appeal to the apparatus of the State to guarantee basic rights that belong

SOCIAL THEORY 311

to them as human beings" sounds his theme superbly. According to the author, the capitalistic world with its stubborn denial of human rights and its insistence upon exploitation and labor leaders who block the way toward real employer-employee cooperation will be equally responsible for a possible intrusion of either a socialistic or communistic system. Father Smith, ever mindful of the dignity and worth of the human personality, presents some well-developed expositions on the rights and responsibilities of management and on the duties of workers. "The acceptance of labor as a co-partner in the social enterprise, which is now spoken of as private enterprise would eliminate the cause of our present class conflict," he declares. In an appendix is the author's outline of the rights and duties of both management and labor, carefully thought out and in every detail most commendable.

M.J.V.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CENTRAL CITY CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH. Denver: National Opinion Research Center, 1946, pp. 109.

In this firsthand report of talks and discussions given at a conference held in Denver in 1946, the reader will find a great deal of information on many public opinion research topics, such as ethical standards in making public opinion surveys, sampling problems, wording of questions, interviewing problems, public opinion research viewed internationally. It was urged that an international polling agency, possibly in connection with the U.N., should be established, for the purpose of charting world morale and of maintaining a barometer of public opinion throughout the world. Gallup polls are now operating in eleven countries. It was claimed that public opinion polls even when made as nearly objective as possible are policy makers, because legislators watch the results of polls on certain questions and temper their legislative activities accordingly. It was urged that polling agencies develop a set of standards for conducting polls, or else polls will be misused to serve private ends.

Part-time interviewers have proved "more efficient than professional full-time interviewers." The ideal interviewer is said to be "a married woman, 37 years old, neither adverse to nor steamed up about politics, and able to understand and follow instructions." Women interviewers are less inclined to cheat than are men. Because of interviewer fatigue, not more than twenty interviewees should be assigned at a time to one interviewer. The document contains a large number of miscellaneous ideas and opinions that were expressed in the Conference meetings. By its nature this document is uneven in value and its contents are in need of analysis and organization.

THE THINGS THAT MATTER MOST: An Approach to the Problems of Human Values. By RALPH TYLER FLEWELLING. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1946, pp. ix+530.

There is a spreading recognition among educators that the orthodox college curriculum is spiritually fracturing, obscurant, and even perverse. On the departmentalized basis of instruction the student is deluged with a mass of facts and pseudo facts that remain undigested and unassimilated to any view of human life or of the world as a whole. The only unified view of things that is commonly available, and that only by innuendo, is the naturalistic outlook derived from the study of the sciences. This Anschauung-fruit of analytic method, nominalism, and selected aspects of experience-is not only dogmatic but alien as well to the content and spirit of the great tradition of humanism that stems from the major moral and religious systems both of East and West. To meet this situation, several pioneering college courses and textbooks have recently appeared, in which an attempt is made to introduce the student to the problem of human life in its concrete wholeness. Among these projects in the field of ethics is the recent volume, The Things That Matter Most, from the pen of Professor Ralph Tyler Flewelling, director emeritus of the School of Philosophy in The University of Southern California. In keeping with the general trend in thought derived from Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, and Nietzsche, the life-problem is identified with that of values. Following a preliminary analysis of the nature of values, the text offers a study of eleven life-philosophies, namely, of Confucius, Buddha, the Stoics, Epicurus, Socrates, Judaeo-Christianity, Boethius, Dante, Rousseau, Nietsche, and Pasteur. The first five represent schools or movements of thought that have molded the world; the latter six have been chosen as landmarks in the history of Western civilization. The treatment of each subject includes a historical and biographical survey, selected readings from the original writings, and a list of questions and problems for class discussion. The project is highly commendable as a fruitful one, and the writing, generally speaking, is very readable and at times inspiring.

An experimental and pioneering work of this kind, nevertheless, cannot escape criticism. The promise of the excellent title of the book, borrowed from a phrase of Plotinus, is not kept in a completely satisfactory manner. We are left, at the end of our reading, with the authentic impression that the values of the spirit are of supreme importance; but if the student were asked to enumerate and explain them, he would be at a loss to do so, since no attempt is made at a systematic list or account of them. The preliminary discussion of value is rather cursory and is capable of considerable enrichment. The questions at the end of each chapter

SOCIAL THEORY 313

do not seem to be invariably the most significant and useful to the student. Interpretations of subject matter do not always seem incapable of challenge as revealing fundamental trends. Thus Nietsche is found to be almost utterly vicious, and no attempt is made to commend him for his honest effort to meet the challenge of Buddhist pessimism in a world of growing skepticism. The fragmentary character of the readings probably could not be avoided, but the selections included, the emphases, and the interpretations are likely to provoke challenge. Again, while the author apparently desires to introduce his readers to the general problem of life, no attempt is made to formulate a list of what might be considered the central issues that men must face. In consequence, the student who expects to get some comprehensive sense and solution of the life-problem is likely to complete his reading in a somewhat bewildered state of mind. Nevertheless, this volume is a distinct contribution to a problem that the college will be forced to face more seriously in the future. The method adopted is worthy of further exploration. WILBUR LONG.

INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. By RAYMOND W. MURRAY. Second Edition, New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1946, pp. xii+990.

The author maintains his aim of presenting "the fundamental sociological facts and concepts in a Catholic philosophical setting" with consistency and thoroughness. However, the textual materials have been changed greatly from those in the first edition, for the author gives ample evidence of extensive reading and thinking and of introducing new data on nearly every page, bringing a wide range of social information to date.

A crucial point in a textbook in sociology is the organization of materials. There is as yet nothing approaching common consent in this connection. In this book the beginning deals with the nature and development of sociology and the meaning of the Catholic viewpoint in sociology. Three groups of chapters follow, in which the biological, cultural, and social approaches to the study of man are delineated. Then comes an analysis of collective behavior of the community and of social institutions. The concluding section very briefly introduces the subject of social maladjustments. A great deal of concrete, illustrative material appears throughout. Suggestions for social research, the "clipping essay," and study guides are given in the appendices. The readings for the student are discriminatingly selected. A concluding chapter on the rise and development of sociological thought would be in order. A treatment earlier in the book of the social processes would give the student larger opportunity to think sociologically about current social life and conditions.

LABOR RELATIONS AND THE PUBLIC. Philadelphia: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1946, pp. viii+316.

This issue of the *Annals* is devoted to a cause: that of attempting to shed some light for the perplexed public upon the meaning and significance of the present industrial crisis situation confronting labor, management, the government, and the public. The contents reveal the following topics as headings: Economic Issues Affecting the Public; Intra- and Interunion Relations and the Public; the Labor Contract and Its Administration; Labor Welfare and the Public; and Public Policy and Control. Among the many writers may be found William Green, Philip Taft, Roger N. Baldwin, Dale Yoder, George W. Taylor, and Ordway Tead. The volume is an essential for a good understanding of the whole problem from particular and well-informed points of view.

Californians will find a point of interest in the Supplement, entitled "California Looks Ahead." Its introductory article, "California in Perspective," was written by Professor Emeritus Rockwell D. Hunt of The University of Southern California. It is characterized by his usual sprightly but scholarly style and reveals his socialized economic philosophy. Carey McWilliams also contributes a fine bit of writing on "Culture and Society in California."

ATOMIC POWER AND MORAL FAITH. By T. V. SMITH, Claremont, California: Claremont College, 1946, pp. vii+56.

In the first of the two essays in this book the author discusses the need for "high courage for the atomic age." He would match high courage against the fear of the atomic bomb and face the worst by creating norms for an atomic age. He inveighs against sectarianism of every sort, against confident atheists and dogmatic theists alike, and against all isms. He warns against "idealism poisoned with provincialism."

The second essay urges the denationalization of the dangers of nuclear physics and the internationalization of its benefits. It warns against Russia's overemphasis on comradeship and "our one-sided emphasis upon individualism." It accepts the United Nations and would work to expand its powers until the world has an international authority with federalism as its goal and until the veto power of the large nations is removed. Russian emphasis on fraternity can lead to class frenzy and American emphasis on liberty can lead to license, but if sectarianism of all kinds is done away with and courage supplements fear the peoples of the world may be enabled to move "from pooled ideas toward federation of powers." The book is altogether too brief. Several theses need extended development.

RACES AND CULTURE

ANTI-SEMITISM, A SOCIAL DISEASE. EDITED BY ERNEST SIMMEL. New York: International Universities Press, 1946, pp. xxiii+137.

This volume gives the psychoanalytic approach to the study of race relations. It applies the principles of psychoanalysis to anti-Semitism and finds some of the origins of the latter in early frustrations of the anti-Semite. To accuse someone else "instead of ourselves relieves us of subjective guilt feeling and is a mental defense against recognizing our own guilt."

Rabble-rousing and the development of crowd-mindedness enable a weak individual "to flee into mass existence" and to become powerful by acting with a group, and "to discharge his pent-up aggressions against a weaker minority group." Moreover, the emotionally immature person fears to act individually lest he be punished, but he can be as destructive as he wishes as a member of a crowd, knowing that as a crowd-member he can act with impunity. The worst comes when the sentiments of a person become "divorced from the concepts of present-day civilization," as in the case of the Nazis, for then "merciless and complete physical destruction of the Jews followed."

The psychoanalytic approach is not wholly convincing, for at times it appears to be applying assumptions that have been developed in one aspect of human life in a different field, and to be doing it with a self-assurance that is not justified. Generalizations seem to be made too freely, for example, "the Jew, as the object of anti-Semitism, represents the bad conscience of civilization." Further, it assumes the validity of a single-approach method and discounts eclecticism in the social analyses of group situations.

E.S.B.

THINKING ABOUT RACE. By S. L. WASHBURN. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946, pp. 16.

Races are defined as "groups which are distinguished on the basis of inherited anatomical characters." In this discussion it is pointed out that the fossil record shows that "the living races are extremely modern" and that they have had "most of their human ancestry in common." It is claimed that a knowledge of biology is necessary if one would understand race. With reference to the Nordic race the author states that any claim about either a pure or a mixed Nordic race is "an arbitrarily limited creation of the imagination," and one can find "no evidence that there ever was a group of human beings who had the characters of Nordics and who passed these traits along to their children."

BOY FROM NEBRASKA. The Story of Ben Kuroki. By RALPH G. MARTIN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. xii+208.

In this biographical sketch of the life and experience of an American boy of Japanese parentage, a journalist has highlighted certain significant incidents and events. He has put into print the determination of one American Nisei to take part in World War II and to demonstrate his Americanism, even though race prejudice reared its ugly head against him time and again. Although he participated in thirty bombing missions in the European and African theaters and twenty-eight more in the Pacific and Japanese theaters, and received the Distinguished Service Cross; although he returned to the United States almost broken in mind because of his battle experiences, he was confronted with insults by narrow-minded Americans and by people who have never learned an elementary lesson in human fair play that "all people must be judged as individuals, not as groups or races or religions or colors." Until this lesson is learned the whole structure of democracy is "sitting on straw." Imagine Ben Kuroki's feelings when, after returning from the deadly mission to the Ploesti oil fields and from fifty-seven other missions, he finds that he has to fight the same old fight against racial intolerance within the United States and that today he does not know for sure that "it's safe for me to walk the streets in some parts of my own country." In Ben's words: "We will have lost the war if our military victory is not followed by a better understanding among peoples."

The book tells something of the effects of bombing on the individual bombers and something of the nature of battle fatigue. A free and sometimes crude style does not obscure the main message of the book in behalf of racial tolerance and democratic good will.

E.S.B.

THE POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: HISTORY AND PROS-PECTS. By Frank Lorimer. Geneva: League of Nations, 1946, pp. xiv+289.

This demographic study of Russian population virtually sets a pattern for method and quality. In order to have perspective for better appreciation of contemporary information, there is given first a historical survey of the population, cultural factors, and economic structure of the Russian Empire. Several chapters deal with population changes during World War I, the Revolution, the Civil War, and through the period ending in 1939. The ethnic composition is examined with considerable detail. There are regional studies of density and urbanization, occupational characteristics, the level of living, and the relation of population to resources. Regional variations are also shown in vital statistics. Various trends are examined for the period 1926-1939, particularly in industrial

production, agriculture, mortality rates, fertility, ethnic affiliation, age and sex composition, urbanization, and migration policies. The final chapter discusses changes wrought in Russia by the War, and there are estimates of population projections, 1940-1970.

This work is another example of the superior quality of the Economic and Financial Reports issued by the League of Nations. The statistical tables and maps will be found useful, and the interpretation by the author is masterly. The Soviet Union becomes more a reality, less a matter of speculation, as books of this kind become available.

J.E.N.

CITIZEN 13660. Drawings and Text by Miné Okubo. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. 209.

In this set of drawings, one to a page and each occupying half a page, the author tells the story of the evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast. Each drawing is supplemented with a brief explanatory statement. The total constitutes a unique record of the history of the forced mass migration of 110,000 people from California, Oregon, and Washington, including about 80,000 citizens in good standing who without due process of law were summarily moved out of their homes and set down hundreds of miles away in camps behind barbed wire and guarded by military police. The author was one of these 80,000 citizens. She maintained her sense of humor better than other American citizens would have done had they received similar treatment. The hurried removal from her home, the sojourn in a horse stable at Tanforan, the removal to the guarded desert camp in Topaz, Utah—one of the ten relocation centers —the trying and depressing experiences in the Topaz Center are told in picture and word more effectively than a long dissertation could do. Many readers of this documentary history will review with sincere regret the way in which, according to Bradford Smith of the Office of War Information, the wholesale evacuation was put through "in response to racial bias and large farm operators," at a time when selective evacuation would have met the situation adequately and creditably.

PORTRAIT OF A PILGRIM. A Search for the Christian Way in Race Relations. By Buell G. Gallagher. New York: Friendship Press, 1946, pp. 184.

The problem that the modern Christian faces in connection with race relations is that "he lacks the moral stamina to follow the leadership of his conscience." According to his conscience he should treat Negroes, for example, the same as Caucasians in social relations, in openings for jobs, in connection with buying and occupying property; but he succumbs to his prejudices and to social pressures.

The argument is placed in a fictitious setting, Mediopolus, with its pastor moved to find a way whereby Christians can learn to practice their religion in race relations. A series of letters, printed reports of talks, and the like are reported. These are based on Reverend Timothy O'Hara's vacation from his church in Mediopolus, during which he travels throughout the United States seeking for evidence that Christianity can be made to ring true in race relationships. A great many facts regarding unchristian race conditions in the United States are inserted in the various documents which are used as avenues to convey the author's main idea, that "exhortation to the moral life without accompanying social action" is cowardice.

COLOR BLIND. A White Woman Looks at the Negro. By MARGARET HALSEY. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946, pp. 166.

The author of With Malice toward Some, which sold 600,000 copies, brings her cleverness in writing and her scintillating humor to bear upon some of the problems of the Negro in the United States. Her work during the War in a servicemen's canteen furnishes the setting for this discussion of race relations. The crux of the account centers in the no-discrimination policy of the canteen. White junior hostesses regularly danced with Negro servicemen and Negro junior hostesses with white servicemen. The author comments that it was not the white girls but the Negro hostesses who had to be protected from the vulgar approaches of some of the white servicemen. A major requirement of a junior hostess in a canteen has to be the ability to master the problem of "the overimpetuous male, of any description." Otherwise, she has "no business working in a canteen at all."

The book is full of drama, such as the account of the angry reactions of white soldiers from Texas when they beheld Southern white junior hostesses dancing with Negro soldiers. Despite the threats of violence the management stood its ground and insisted that either democracy had to be repudiated or else the no-discrimination policy would be observed. More than once it was necessary for "The Star Spangled Banner" to be called for in order to bring white soldiers to attention and out of their rage because of the canteen's determination to put social equality into action in a country whose soldiers, white and colored alike, were fighting for freedom. Some of the sponsors of the canteen also objected to the no-discrimination policy; but their wishes did not prevail, even though in their protestations they "broke the world's record for the standing backward jump."

The author points out some of the weaknesses in the frequently asked question: "Do you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" (1) The

Negro is not attracted by white people so much as he is attracted by what the white people have, namely, their freedom. (2) The question assumes that white girls have no voice in deciding whom they will marry, and cheaply implies that they will marry any man who asks them. White girls are accustomed to say "No" to white boys, and hence such persons would not have difficulty in saying "No" to colored boys. (3) The Negro does not want to marry a white girl. He knows that he could not live with her in a white community and that she could not live with him in a colored community. (4) The question implies a sense of fear and even, says the author, a sense of guilt on the part of white people because of keeping the Negro in an economic caste system. It attempts to dodge the real issue.

In her observations the author declares that "no white person, even when he wants to, can understand what it means to be a Negro in the United States," hemmed in as he is by economic, political, social, residential, and other restrictions at every turn of the day, and unable to escape ostracism and even insults. The author asks that a sense of perspective be maintained and that the United States continue to function as a democracy, for "democracies that cease to fumble and bumble and lurch and sprawl toward their goals, also cease to be democracies." This book is bound by its forthrightness to create a stir and to start many people to thinking along racial lines who have never before been aware of the social implications involved in many racial traditions.

E.S.B.

YIVO ANNUAL OF JEWISH SOCIAL SCIENCE. Vol. I. New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1946, pp. 320.

With the publication of the first volume of its Annual Jewish Social Science the Yiddish Scientific Institute demonstrates the diverse interests of the contributors to the symposium and the broad scope of their studies. The eighteen articles are written by eminent Jewish scholars recently, or at present, on various social science faculties in leading universities in Europe and in the United States. A few of the contributors are also members of the research staff of the YIVO.

The studies in this Annual concern themselves with the social life of the Jewish ghetto of the past, Jewish colonization, Jewish history and historiography, educational system in Palestine, Jewish criminality in Poland, the psychology of the Jewish child in America, Jewish self-hatred, Jewish literature, and so on. All of the studies display considerable objectivity, competence in field methods of gathering and evaluating data, and certain articles at least are extensively documented. The life and problems of the Jews are viewed in their cultural and social settings and from manifold angles.

In a volume of this type the reviewer looks for some statement or notes on methods employed in the attempt to develop a "Jewish social science." There is not even an introductory statement of underlying principles, definitions, and methodology. Brief bibliographies on all of the various studies presented and an index would also have been highly desirable. This volume should be of considerable interest to students of ethnology, education, social psychology, and sociology.

P.V.Y.

SOCIAL WELFARE

CHILDREN OF THE CUMBERLAND. By CLAUDIA LEWIS, with photographs by William T. Buttrick, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. xviii+217.

Important to both sociologists and psychologists, this richly observant study of childhood in the Cumberland mountains is the outgrowth of the author's two and a half years of teaching experience in a Tennessee nursery school. Going into the Cumberland area with the idea of starting a play group for the mountain children of the Highlander Folk School, the author left after one month to return in the fall and open a nursery school on a permanent basis. The motive which prompted her return and the opening of this nursery school was her desire to study in this living laboratory these children who reacted so differently from the children she had known and taught in the Harriet Johnson Nursery School of Greenwich Village. Finding no counterpart of the creative Stephen or the aggressive David of the New York school in her Summerville charges, the author raised the question of why there was such outwardly peaceful, placid behavior exhibited by these mountain children. Was the lack of rebellion on the part of the J. W.'s and Wayne Edward's due to lack of maladjustments among these children? Was the absence of thumb-sucking, temper tantrums, screeching, and screaming proof of a superior method of child training? The author, with her sensitive insight and rich background of sociology and psychology, discusses and analyzes these questions with a conclusion stimulating yet disturbing. The introduction of Rosalie, who in many ways is like J.W. yet is a child of the noisy, fast-moving city, refutes the common assumption that quiet, conforming children are the product of quiet mountains.

Sixteen pages of photographs add to the charm of the book but are not necessary to give a vivid picture of Summerville and its inhabitants, for the excellent reporting done by Miss Lewis amply supplies that.

GLADYS V. BOWMAN

COUNSELING METHODS FOR PERSONNEL WORKERS. By Annette Garrett. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1945, pp. 187.

The Editor of the Family Weltare Association of America Publications, Florence Hollis, who writes the Introduction of this volume, explains that an interest in counseling in the industrial field and a pamphlet, "Counseling Services for Industrial Workers" by Mary Palevsky, a staff member of the Association, published in 1945, promoted the present study. The earlier investigation established the fact that industrial counseling and case work were not synonymous but that they did overlap and indicated common basic principles.

Miss Garrett, the author, is Associate Director of the Smith College School for Social Work, and has previously written Interviewing: Its Principles and Methods. The sources of the present book are records kept by industrial counselors, individual conferences with them, and "basic case work principles that seem applicable to the counseling situation," as Miss Garrett sees them.

One conclusion reached is that industrial counseling and case work present both similarities and differences. One of the latter is that the industrial counselor must keep in mind the importance of counseling in relation to "plant productivity." This fact is interpreted to mean that the help given varies, since the social worker's responsibility is "to offer help on a much wider basis." Likewise, the extent of help given varies. The personnel worker "does not become deeply involved in social treatment and does not need to have all the knowledge necessary for the job of case worker." However, the industrial counselor needs to be acquainted with many things pertinent to his own field and outside the usual scope of case work. This book deals primarily with the specific area in which the two services overlap.

"Part One: Counseling and Human Behavior" stresses both "objective and subjective factors," "the relationship between counselor and counselee," and "essential counselor attitudes." "Part Two: Basic Counseling Methods," including interviewing, is practical and concrete. "Part Three: Specific Counseling Problems" has to do with induction and exit interviews, in- and out-plant adjustments, referrals, and work with foremen. "Part Four: Relationships between Counseling and Case Work" is definite in emphasizing the complementary services of the two fields as well as the unique contributions each type of counselor may make to the social and industrial adjustment of the counselee.

The book is amply illustrated with various types of interviews and provides an unusually helpful discussion of the important field of counseling. It should have a wide appeal for all types of professional counselors as well as for both the case worker and the personnel worker. B.A.MCC.

RELIEF AND SOCIAL SECURITY. By Lewis Meriam. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1946, pp. xx+912.

This study of relief and social security, and of their administration is a monumental piece of work and will contribute greatly to the modification and evolution of our legislation on these subjects. The author was well fitted to undertake this task and utilized contributions to this field that were made by several other workers.

In Part I the various measures enacted by the Federal government are outlined and discussed. These include aid to the aged, to the blind, to dependent children, and to farmers. Sections deal with old-age and survivors' insurance, the railroad retirement system, unemployment insurance, the WPA, and other Federal programs. The author shows why Federal action became necessary but points out some of the weaknesses in the administration by Federal agencies. For example, an unskilled worker with a large family obtained less under WPA than a skilled laborer with no dependents. In similar fashion there are many defects or "forfeitures" involved in the old-age and survivors' insurance system in spite of the revisions made in 1939. In comparing the insurance with the old-age assistance plan, the author points out the weaknesses of the former and concludes that from the financial standpoint old-age assistance may be more favorable than insurance to very poorly paid individuals and to persons who are in wage brackets that involve payment of substantial taxes. The analysis of the railroad retirement system reveals various weaknesses. The short-time worker compares unfavorably with the person insured under the old-age and survivors' insurance plan, but the worker with many years of service and higher wages has an advantage. The State Unemployment Compensation laws differ so much from each other and have been enacted so recently that evaluations of the systems cannot yet be made. Several arguments in favor of a national system of unemployment insurance are made. The railroad unemployment system is on a national basis. The factual material relating to its work is largely under the supervision of the administrative board. Outside agencies, therefore, cannot easily obtain assistance from it.

In Part II the author says that three issues of public policy are important—universal coverage, comprehensiveness, and coordination. He then discusses the British Beveridge Plan and that of the subsequent White Paper. Both of these proposals have attempted to meet these issues. The New Zealand system which has been chosen for study provides for comprehensive coordinated universal coverage but has made a very different approach to the problem from that used in the United States. The more important features of the New Zealand system and the practical applications are presented with the significant conclusion

that New Zealand, as far as monetary benefits are concerned, furnishes complete protection against want at an approach to the lowest possible cost.

Part III deals with our objectives and the problems involved in the prevention of want. The meaning and types of social insurance are discussed, also the costs and the administrative problems. The chief faults in our systems are absence of universal coverage, lack of comprehensiveness, and no coordination of benefits. A comprehensive social insurance system without a means test except for children under eighteen would cost on the basis of the 1940 census seven and one-half billion dollars if low benefits were the rule. Of this amount nearly one half would be for health insurance. Moderate and high benefits would cost much more. A means-test system would cost from 1,788,000,000 to 7,500,000,000 dollars. Employees' contributions require much bookkeeping and maintaining of records. If the costs involved were spent on education, health, and relief, a great advantage would be gained. Arguments for and against the accumulation of reserves in old-age insurance and unemployment compensation, medical care, and disability insurance are presented.

To obtain a coordinated system our whole system must be reworked with respect to policy, finance, and government. The national government may assume complete control or use the Federal-state cooperative plan. The author believes that the latter system is preferable but that minimum standards should be set and all states required to comply. The United States is too large to permit the successful direction of local affairs from the national capitol, but the Federal government must establish standards, supervise administration, and review the work done. This book is highly commendable and should be read not only by social workers but by all legislators—state and Federal.

G.B.M.

RADIO: THE FIFTH ESTATE. By Judith C. Waller. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, pp. xxvi+483.

This is one of the best recent books on the radio, outlining the structure of broadcasting, programing, public service programs, the sales organization, the audience, servicing the program, engineering aspects, and educational broadcasting. The world systems of broadcasting are classified as state-owned, the British, and the American systems, with modified forms of these three types. The organization of the American system is described in greater detail, with special reference to The National Broadcasting Company, of which the author is one of the directors of public service. This book is the outgrowth of institutes conducted by the Company in connection with Northwestern University, and later with several other universities.

M.H.N.

THE DYNAMICS OF CULTURE CHANGE. An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa. By Bronislaw Malinowski. Edited by Phyllis M. Kaberry. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945, pp. xviii+171.

The African, as here reported, was used by Malinowski as the subject matter of field work. It is a concrete study of culture change as a process. Incidentally, the author writes of "culture change" rather than using the adjective cultural. There is need for anthropologists to recognize the fact that "uncontaminated" natives no longer exist anywhere, that preliterate peoples everywhere have had some degree of contact with cultures other than their own. A cultural study among primitive peoples thus resolves itself into three divisions—the old culture, that which is imported, and the new composite culture. While studying the process of cultural change in Africa, Malinowski therefore takes into account as fully as possible the European culture, the native African, and that which is the result of cultural contact and change.

The author's presentation of theories of culture and cultural change is superior, the functional approach being emphasized. Attention is given to empirical methods of field work, the situation being taken into account with the process of cultural change. Basic principles are applied and tested. The author also weighs the possibility of forecasts in the process of cultural change.

There is much of lasting value in this book. It contains, in summary form, some of the best thought and technique characteristic of Malinowski.

J.E.N.

LAND FOR THE SMALL MAN. English and Welsh Experience with Publicly Supplied Small Holdings, 1860-1937. By Newlin Russell Smith. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946, pp. xiii+287.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century a movement toward the redistribution of land began in England. It represents an important, though little-known, experiment in state socialism. For more than fifty years local government bodies (County Councils) have possessed Parliamentary authority to buy land for resale in small lots. Later legislation has empowered them to purchase land for permanent ownership, and to rent it to small holders. Subsidies were made for this purpose.

Professor Newlin Smith inquires into the social and political conditions which led Parliament to grant this power and money. He examines the main provisions of the laws and the results of their application, taking into account the economic and geographic factors in British agriculture.

This interesting and scholarly work is replete with charts and tables. The author makes full use of official statistics and government reports.

JOHN E. OWEN

CHINESE FAMILY AND SOCIETY. By OLGA LANG. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946, pp. xxii+395.

This book was published under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, and The Institute of Social Research. Regardless of dialects and even of languages, and of regions and social systems, the family has been the center of Chinese society. The first part of the book deals with the family in old China, including the functions and structure of the family, relationships within the old family, love and marriage, and the place of women in the family and society of old China. Family life did not change a great deal during the early centuries. Contemporary China, however, has experienced many cultural and social changes, which in turn have had a profound effect on the family. The book supplies a wealth of material on the development of the new China. Although family mores tend to change more slowly than the economic, social, and political aspects of society, nevertheless, the Chinese family has changed. Changes have been brought about by the new social and economic environment and the ideological influence of the West. College education is considered as the most potent medium of westernization. The author rightly analyzes changes in the family in the light of the widespread changes in contemporary Chinese society.

M.H.N.

PENOLOGY FROM PANAMA TO CAPE HORN. By Negley K. Teeters. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946, pp. 269.

The purpose of the book was to describe and evaluate the prison systems and administration of South America. The author describes the presence or absence of probation and parole, the care of juvenile delinquents, variations in prison administrations, prison clinics, visiting, conditions in jails, treatment of female criminals, and status of social work in connection with prisons.

Racial and economic problems are presented as of greater interest to South American intellectuals than is crime. South American criminologists place great emphasis on biological defects as the cause of crime.

The author is aware of several limitations in his report. It is based upon only four months' investigation of prisons in eight different countries. The author knew no Spanish or Portuguese and was dependent on interpreters or English-speaking natives. Moreover, he was not well versed in the economic, social, and political folkways of the countries studied. In spite of these limitations the book will be of value in bringing to attention one segment of social life in South America. H.J.L.

THE RACIAL FACTOR IN Y.M.C.A.'S: A Report on Negro-White Relationships in Twenty-four Cities. By ARTHUR W. HARDY AND OWEN E. PENCE. New York: Association Press, 1946, pp. x+194.

Dr. J. Howell Atwood, professor of sociology, Knox College, conducted 249 interviews on current practices in the Y.M.C.A. regarding Negro-white relationships. The study was planned and directed by a committee created by the Bureau of Records, Studies, and Trends of the National Board of the Y.M.C.A. Shelby Harrison, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, served as chairman of the committee; he contributes a Foreword to the report. This volume is a companion to Negro Youth in City Y.M.C.A.'s, a study made in 1943.

In selecting the areas for investigation the committee concentrated on those points where they thought some improvement had been made in Negro-white relations. The twenty-four communities visited were for the most part located in Central and Eastern states. Cities of each major population group were chosen. The Y.M.C.A.'s that were studied varied accordingly. Interviews were held with professional and lay personnel in the Y.M.C.A. and other community agencies. These interviews were recorded and analyzed according to a topical reference classification. Data from the interviews were combined rather than reported as community case situations.

Significance is attached to the importance of administrative patterns in the Y.M.C.A. as a controlling factor in Negro-white relations. Concentrated attention is given to the role of the board. It is not surprising that the board proves to be such a powerful instrument for advance or retardation in race relations. The material on membership services and privileges is brief and seemingly less fundamental to the problem. The chapter on personnel highlights the role of the executive and points out the importance of staff understanding. The most interesting and useful material in the books deals with community attitudes and practices. Recognizing the necessity of studying the Y.M.C.A. in its setting, municipal agencies such as personnel administration, police, courts, hospital and health services, schools, and public recreation were included. Other private agencies were evaluated and special attention paid to the Y.W.C.A. because of "the generally favorable references to Y.W.C.A. practices in the communities visited." The report avoids a repetitious summary but gives a well-developed "Agenda for Advance" in its concluding pages. In this agenda Y.M.C.A. leaders who genuinely believe in the full meaning of the concept of Christian association will find direction and help for vigorous forward movement.

Anyone who has been optimistic about progress made in recent years regarding Negro-white relations in the Y.M.C.A. will experience a

surprise. Considering that this study deliberately chose to focus on spots where the most advance had been made, it is a sober set of findings. Although there have been notable gains in some cities, the general record is one of continuing discrimination. As Shelby Harrison says, "according to the report, the local Y.M.C.A. organization 'stands low' in many instances among agencies working for this aspect of our democratic ideals . . . In summary, the report suggests that if we would put an end to intolerance and discrimination, in every Y.M.C.A., it is important to develop a strong conviction for the application of the high purposes of the organization to Negro-white relations; to form and carry out a program of specific steps to achieve those purposes; to select a board with an eve to the eagerness of its members to see Negro as well as white youth served adequately; to develop staff attitudes and activities which faithfully reflect the board's purposes; and to cooperate with all the other forces in the community which are working for better race relations." This is sound advice for many agencies. The Y.M.C.A. is to be congratulated for facing the facts and making them available for all to see HARLEIGH B. TRECKER and use.

FIELD WORK IN COLLEGE EDUCATION. By HELEN MERRELL LYND. Sarah Lawrence College Publications: Number 5. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 302.

In the Foreword Dr. Lynd says: "This book contributes to the current discussions of college education the experience of one college in the use of field work." Field work, it is explained, "includes systematic observation, participation, and research carried on outside the college." In this book the experience of using field work for "freshman orientation," for "education in social science," for "individual development," and in "postwar college education" is presented in objective fashion.

The Appendices (pp. 167-291) include illustrative social science assignments and schedules used in field studies, such as "The Tuckahoe Housing Survey," and a group report on factory work. The latter involved actual work in a factory by seventeen students for a period of eight weeks. This work experience was supplemented by an average of four hours a week in informal round-table discussions by the class. In this particular field work project there were seven freshmen, three sophomores, five juniors, and two seniors.

The training in research, the increased appreciation of the local community, and the expansion of the students' conception of the world they live in are invaluable aspects of well-planned field work.

The book is stimulating and challenging and offers pertinent suggestions to the college teacher who makes field work an integral part of a college course.

B.A.MCC.

FUNDAMENTALS OF CONSUMER COOPERATION. By V. S. Alanne, Eighth Revised Edition. Superior, Wisconsin: Cooperative Publishing Association, 1946, pp. 112.

A standard work for many years on consumer cooperation has been revised and brought up to date. Although the "fundamentals" of any social movement change very slowly, yet there are new emphases which need to be recognized. The genial author of this book, who is an outstanding writer, authority, and teacher in the field of cooperative principles, enjoys a widening influence throughout the United States and other countries.

The eighth edition contains a new chapter on "Cooperative Relationships," which points out how consumer cooperatives have vital connections with the communities in which they function, and also with social institutions such as the school, the church, the state, general farm organizations, and labor unions. Two chapters appear where one existed before, dealing with "Organizing Consumer Cooperatives" and "Fundamentals of Cooperative Administration." Other chapters have received improved titles such as "Social Philosophy of Consumer Cooperation" and "Appraisal of Consumer Cooperation." Nowhere else within so compact a compass can a better analysis of cooperatives be found than in this document.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION. ELTON MAYO. Boston: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1945, pp. 150.

This book is the outgrowth of twenty years of research in industrial relations and other fields by Mayo and his associates. Its central theme is that industrial organization involves communication between management and informal working groups in industry to the end that objectives for which the plant exists may be conveniently and continuously fulfilled. Mayo and his colleagues, in the course of their studies, became impressed with the importance of customs, roles, patterns of behavior, and the need of the individual to participate in group life—factors which sociologists have emphasized for a long time.

Mayo reports the operation of cultural lag in industry. He indicates that management has been highly successful in applying science and technical skills to material goods and products and in the systematic ordering of operations. It has almost completely neglected a third necessary ingredient of successful organization—the encouragement of teamwork among workers and between workers and management, coupled with the continuous reorganization of teamwork because operating conditions change in an adaptive society which is characterized by a high degree of mobility. Thus, techniques of teamwork lag behind technological achievements.

The following findings emerge from the Harvard industrial studies.

(1) In industry and other situations an administration has to deal with well-knit human groups and not with a horde of independent individuals.

(2) Prediction of employability on the basis of tests of technical skills and capacities is of little importance as compared with working groups or teamwork. (3) Deliberate administrative consideration of effective methods of facilitating communication with the informal groups brings astonishing results in achievement and production.

The approach of Mayo to industrial problems is sociological, although Mayo would be inclined to think that it is different. The research methods and the findings which are described will be of value to sociologists.

H.J.L.

IN THE MARGINS OF CHAOS. By Francesca M. Wilson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945, pp. 313.

The writer was engaged in social work not only during World War I but also thereafter and in World War II. She served in nearly all of the western countries of Europe and in North Africa, and had an opportunity to observe the habits and customs of many races and nationalities.

She does not relate her experiences as a social worker but gives us an intimate view of the life of the people and their reactions to the adverse conditions that they were constantly compelled to face. The superstitions, beliefs, and culture patterns of the various groups differ markedly, and the observations of the writer fascinatingly present a clear insight into their manner of life. Regardless of its intentions, the book is not just a bit of human history; it has valuable implications for the sociologist and the social worker. To the average reader it is most enlightening.

G.B.M.

RADIO IS YOURS. By JEROME H. SPINGARN. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1946, pp. 31.

This pamphlet (No. 121) was prepared by Mr. Spingarn, magazine writer and member of the New York bar, who has been an attorney with the Federal Communications Commission and Consultant on Radio Broadcasting to the Senate Small Business Committee. He is critical in his appraisal of radio programs but gives factual material as to the cost of radio, the kinds of programs that we hear, and also a summary of the report entitled *Public Service Responsibility of Broadcast Licensees*, which was issued in March, 1946. He also presents material on newspapers in radio, the development of frequency modulation, and listeners' groups and radio councils.

M.H.N.

LABOR EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES. By CAROLINE F. WARE. New York: American Labor Education Service, Inc., pp. 138.

A quarter of a century of workers' education in the United States now finds a high peak of attainment with the extension of such education into private and state universities. Miss Ware reports principally upon the problems and objectives of university participation in labor education and upon the relationships of labor education to other university activities. She reveals the nature of the university programs in force during 1945-46 and furnishes a description of the programs utilized in the ten colleges and universities she visited.

M.J.V.

THE PECKHAM EXPERIMENT. A Study of the Living Structure of Society. By INNES H. PEARSE AND LUCY H. CROCKER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945, pp. 333.

In the authors' note, it is explained that this book is the third of a series of four books. The first two—The Case for Action, by Pearse and Williamson (Faber and Faber, 1931), and Biologists in Search of Material, Staff Report, Pioneer Health Centre (Faber and Faber, 1938)—have been published. The fourth volume, Science, Sanity and Synthesis, is to follow.

The keynote of the book is stated as follows: "We claim to have defined the unit of Living. It is not the individual; it is the family." The history of the experiment is covered in two developments. The first step was "a health service constituted on the pattern of a Family Club, with periodic health overhaul for all its members and with various ancillary services for infants, children and parents alike." By the close of the third year, 112 families (some 400 persons) had joined and utilized the opportunity for health examinations. But the leaders felt that this program was inadequate, and so The Pioneer Health Centre was closed.

Seven years were spent in planning the next step. The new Health Centre was to serve 2,000 families and, as in the earlier Centre, to give consultative services. In addition, it was to offer many types of activities "for the practice of health." Activities were suspended in 1939 with the onset of the war.

"A Chapter in Photographs. The 'Centre' Life" (pp. 51-66) gives representations of the various activities. The Health Centre building and its facilities are then described, as well as the area, the Family Club, and its facilities. Each family member pays a regular fee of 1s. a week. Services include a periodic health overhaul for each member of the family and the use of the Club and its equipment, free to all children of school age or under of the member families, and by the adults on payment of a small fee for each activity.

The welfare and educational services include ante- and postnatal clinics, nursery school, medical inspections of the schoolchild, vocational guidance, sex instruction, girls' and boys' clubs, gymnastic classes, adult culture education, citizens' advice bureau, the billiard and dance halls, social gatherings, and various therapeutic activities such as marriage advisory bureau, mothers' clinic, child guidance clinic, poor man's lawyer, and rehabilitation clinic.

The book describes the extensive services and some of the social results achieved, and points to the significance of family life integrated into a functional social unit, and so "A Community Grows." The plan has attracted much attention as presenting a total service providing "for the needs of mind and spirit as well as of body." It furnishes a new pattern linking the health expert, the physician, and the biologist with the local families into a cooperating unit.

B.A.MCC.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY COUNSELING. BY SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1945, pp. xvi+457.

This book has arisen out of the experience of the author in the field of counseling. It begins with a chapter that briefly outlines causes of family disorganization and follows with a discussion of methods of meeting the conflicts and problems that arise.

Part I deals with "the premarital conference" and in seven chapters presents a mass of material that can well serve as useful information to guide others who are engaged in counseling service. Psychological, ethical, biological, and economic factors are of such importance that all unmarried couples should be brought face to face with them before preparation for marriage is considered.

Many married persons, particularly women, come to the clinic for counsel and advice. Usually the patient hopes to have her opinions confirmed instead of recognizing that there are two sides to most problems. Methods of approach therefore involve great tact and much understanding on the part of the counselor. Our changing cultural and social conditions tend to yield more complicated causes of distress than formerly. It is therefore necessary to keep in mind the probable need of a broader and more flexible plan of treatment. The case may involve not only the individual and the family but the broader social environment as well.

The aims of social treatment are stated as three in number—to relieve distress, to rebuild those who are broken down, and to remove the causes of the trouble. The third aim is often very difficult to achieve. In presenting the varied types of problems with which he is compelled to deal,

the author illustrates with a mass of material. Prospective counselors will be greatly interested in the advice and help that patients received. The chapter on "Family Counseling in War-Time," it is hoped, will no longer be necessary.

Some suggestions and plans are given for the organization and administration of a consultation center. The group or board that constitutes the governing body will determine the limitations on counseling that may be imposed and the consequent degree of effectiveness. Birth control, divorce, and religious affiliations are cases in point. The book is described as a manual for persons engaged in counseling service. It is indeed a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject.

G.B.M.

A STUDY OF RURAL SOCIETY, By J. H. Kolb and Edmund des. Brunner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, pp. xxvi+717.

This third edition of a widely used text brings the material up to date, extensively using data drawn from the 1940 Census. While some effects of the war on rural life are noted, there is less material of this type than one might expect. A new outline is employed and some chapters are completely revised. The main divisions of the book deal with the distinguishing characteristics of rural people, the problems of making a living in rural society, group relationships, and institutional arrangements. A wealth of concrete material is presented, especially in regard to farm and village conditions. The rural and urban elements are regarded throughout as interdependent parts of general society, and economic conditions are considered as a part of social life. No section is devoted to theory and the emphasis on social processes is not so evident as it is in some of the other more recent texts in rural sociology, but the authors used a frame of reference within which they organized the concrete material. M.H.N.

YOUR MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIVING. BY PAUL H. LANDIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1946, pp. 373.

This high school textbook uses language understandable by the grade level to which it is directed, incorporates most of the research knowledge on marriage and the family, utilizes appropriate pictures and pictographic figures, and includes the materials generally covered in marriage and family courses. It gives a historical description of changes in the American family, presents differences in family life in rural and urban areas, analyzes mate selection, successful marriages, and successful parenthood, and concludes with a description of family crises. It is a book deserving of wide use.

H.J.L.

COMMUNITY PLANNING FOR PEACETIME LIVING. Report of the 1945 Stanford Workshop on Community Leadership. EDITED BY LOUIS WIRTH, ERNEST R. HILGARD, AND I. JAMES QUILLEN. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1946, pp. 177.

This book is the report of a workshop for community leaders held from August 10 to August 19, 1945, with a registration of seventy persons representing many organizations including the American Red Cross, the Boy and Girl Scouts, the League of Women Voters, Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Chamber of Commerce, the Community Chest, and other agencies interested in various phases of social welfare.

The first eight chapters are the evening lectures given by Professor Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago. These chapters have to do with community planning and are grouped in Part I, "A Sociologist Looks at the Community." Part II, "California Leaders Analyze the Community's Problems," includes such problems as those of youth, housing, economic development and employment, health, agriculture, education, the problems of the returning veteran, and intercultural and interracial problems. These subjects were presented at the morning lectures by outstanding leaders in California, recognized authorities in their respective fields.

Part III includes the reports of "Special Interest Groups," their discussions and findings. The Workshop participants, according to their special interest, were divided into five groups: Community Planning for Youth Welfare; Education, Health, and Recreation; Over-All Community Planning and Housing; Interracial and Intercultural Problems; and Economic Development and Full Employment, Including Job Opportunities and Plans for Returning Veterans. Part IV, "Summary and Conclusions," is Professor Wirth's summary interpretation, conclusions, and recommendations for action.

The book is an excellent handbook on planning. It presents the problems succinctly and gives basic principles for procedure in social planning. At the close of each chapter in parts I and II is a list of well-selected references which together provide an excellent bibliography. B.A.MCC.

PUBLIC SERVICE RESPONSIBILITY OF BROADCAST LICENSEES.
Report by Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.,
March 7, 1946, pp. 59.

This report, commonly referred to as the FCC "Blue Book," presents a summary of the Commission's study of program service of radio stations. Detailed facts are presented to show how five stations are not living up to the public service responsibility. The Commission's jurisdiction with respect to program service is outlined, with a more detailed analysis of some aspects of "public interest" in program service.

SOCIAL FICTION

EAST RIVER. BY SHOLEM ASCH. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1946, pp. 438.

Sholem Asch, author of *The Nazarene* and *The Apostle*, trains his literary sights here upon a small segment of New York City, East Forty-eighth Street near the East River as seen during the early years of the present century. What he finds there is significant and sociologically interesting. It is enough to make his novel a study of many things.

It is a study in race relations; a study of a community configuration; a study of personality configuration as conditioned by community, religion, and race; a study of the folkways and mores of transplanted Jewry; and a study of the industrial methods of the sweat shop in the clothing industry. The portraits of the polygot inhabitants of the area are sketched with rare artistry. The novelist has a kind of gifted sociological insight and furnishes the reader with several accounts that would reflect credit upon a research student. One of these recites the social changes that occurred during the year 1914, the year of the dance mania and of the fashion edict that relieved woman of her Victorian heritage and prepared her for a new freedom.

All this has been built upon a slight but impressive story, the story of Mosche Wolfe Davidowsky and his two sons: Nathan, a victim of infantile paralysis, and Irving, adored by his mother for his early grasp of the fact that America's business is that of making money. Both sons fall in love with a little Irish Catholic girl, Mary McCarthy—Nathan because she has been good to him in his helplessness, Irving because she has a flair for work and business. Despite the fact that Irving has been betrothed to Rachel, he finally marries Mary and on the very day that he was to have wed Rachel. This, because Mary told him that they were to have a baby. The interreligious marriage was a blow to both Mary's Catholic family and Irving's Jewish family. After a good deal of suffering by both groups, the affair is brought to a satisfactory conclusion for nearly all concerned.

The novel will be read primarily for its superb character portrayal of Mosche Wolfe. Sholem Asch brings all the skill which he bestowed upon the character of Paul in *The Apostle* to the painting of solemn and ritual-loving Mosche. The reader sees him as a man seriously devoted to the welfare of his family, as a man calmly and nobly accepting the bitter cup of having a Catholic grandson, and as a man warmly devoted to an undying faith in the belief of his fathers.

Sociology and Social Research

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